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# CUBA DENOUNCES



What "THE MIAMI HERALD" and

"THE MIAMI NEWS" did not publish



# I Conspiracy of the Press

ON January 20th, 1960, Jorge Zayas, the Managing Editor of the daily "Avance", acting of his own free will and self-termination, and without any compulsory or restrictive action on part of the Cuban Government, left the national territory on one of the regular schedule flights of the Cuban Aviation Company.

Then, four days later, on January 24th, Jorge Zayas was elected Regional Vice-President of the Inter-American Press Association's Freedom of the Press Committee for the Caribbean Area.

On that same date Jorge Zayas published in "The Miami Herald" the first of a series of articles in which he played the role of an innocent victim of political persecution, and did his best to discredit and debate his own country, Cuba; and to slander and disgrace its Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, as well as other high officials of the Cuban Government.

The widespread diffusion of those slanderous articles, which were immediately picked up and reproduced by several newspaper, radio and news and wire services, indicate, obviously enough, that a veritable conspiracy was afoot, designed to discredit and smear the prestige of the Republic of Cuba.

The fact that Jorge Zayas described himself as an honest citizen and a valiant defender of the Freedom of the Press, added to the incidence of his departure from Cuba with his designation for such an important office in the Inter-American Press Association, misguided and actually led to the confusion of numerous North American readers who, being inaccurately informed on Cuban affairs, might accept Jorge Zayas' misrepresentations as true accounts of actual facts.

In the face of so undesirable prospects, and wishing to tell the truth and show proofs of the real situation, so that American public opinion could be accurately informed on the actual character and past history of Jorge Zayas, an official of the Public Relations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Relations took a trip to Miami in a special mission which consisted of calling on the editor of "The Miami Herald" and ask him for an opportunity to refute Jorge Zayas' attacks against his own motherland, and to explain the real reason for his infamy.

The Public Relations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Relations desired to show how Jorge Zayas and his newspaper "Avance" had been in the service of the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, and how, in consideration of his concealment of the true facts and his deceit of the people who read his paper, Jorge Zayas and his publishing company received gifts in cash which nearly amounted to half a million dollars.

So, the Cuban envoy met first with Mr. George Beebe and then, with Mr. John S. Knight, Managing Editor and Publisher, respectively, of "The Miami Herald". To them he displayed the evidence he had in his possession, including photostats of checks drawn on the Secret Expense Account of dictator Batista, and then endorsed and cashed by Jorge Zayas himself.

Unfortunately, "The Miami Herald" refused to publish the comments and explanations prepared by the Public Relations Department of the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Relations, by imposing certain conditions and requirements which no self respecting government could possibly comply.

Disappointed by this first failure, the Cuban official went to see the Editor of "The Miami News", where he met with identical results. The proofs we are now offering here, backed as they are by the unquestionable honesty and sincerity of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, were considered insufficient by the editors of both "The Miami Herald" and "The Miami News".

Of course, no one asked Jorge Zayas for any such proof when he wrote, and so it was published, that women were being executed by firing squads in Cuba, or when he wrote, and so it was published, that news items were sequestered in Cuba, or when he said, and so it was published, that the Cuban Government did not publish financial reports, or when he said, and so it was published, that Fidel Castro misappropriated the funds donated by the people for his program of improvements.

"The Miami Herald" did not raise any objection to Jorge Zayas' publication of his slanderous articles against Cuba, despite the fact that no evidence could have been produced to prove such defamation. However, its Editor hastened to refuse to publish Cuba's reply, and we did have plenty of evidence to offer. This is the objectivity of the press conspiracy against our Country.



This is the opinion of the Managing Editor of "The Miami Herald", George Beebe, about Cuba and its Revolutionary Government. It explains why he refused to publish Cuba's answer to the gross misrepresentation of Jorge Zayas, the Regional Vice-President of the Freedom of the Press Committee of the Inter-American Press Association.

"The Miami Herald" accepted, without demanding any evidence whatsoever, Jorge Zayas' statement to the effect that "Cuba was receiving money from the Communist block". "The Miami Herald" did not raise any objection to Jorge Zayas' insinuation that Fidel Castro was preparing to attack the Guantanamo Naval Base, and even went so far as to publish a story that the Cuban Government was planning to attack the United States.

However, when an official agent of the Government of Cuba called on "The Miami Herald" and "The Miami News" and sought to exercise our right to acquaint the American readers with the real character and reputation of Jorge Zayas, who is nothing but a mercenary journalist, an embezzler of public funds and a traitor to his own country, they refused to accept bonafide evidence and unquestionable testimony as sufficient proofs to refute what that mercenary embezzler and traitor has been so free and welcome to say.

The refusal of "The Miami Herald" and "The Miami News" was not surprising to Cubans. The Revolutionary Government has often exposed to the world that there is conspiracy at work, designed to undermine our sovereign liberty, which includes a worldwide campaign of discredit and slander.

One of the most widely used misrepresentations is that purporting to protect the so-called freedom of the press. Yet, it seems to be evident that the so-called impartial, unbiased, independent and objective press, of which both "The Miami Herald" and "The Miami News" claim to be perfect examples, is really neither impartial nor unbiased, neither independent nor objective, and does not uphold or promote the most elementary rules of journalistic ethics.

Within this vast conspiracy against the rights and the sovereign freedom of the Cuban people, traitor Zayas was assigned to the mission for which he was best fitted, and was used as a source of propaganda material. That is why "The Miami Herald" placed him on its front page, and that is why he was made to repeat once and again, all the infamous lies, woven into newspaper articles, to discredit the Cuban Nation.

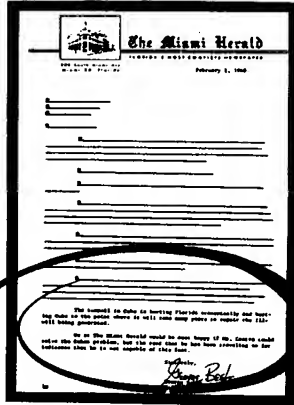
The explanations and comments prepared by the Public Relations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Relations exposing the abject character of Jorge Zayas, who is just the opposite to what an honest newspaperman ought to be, utterly wrecked the groundwork of misrepresentations which he had erected as part of the relentless campaign of defamation waged by the foreign press against Cuba.

"The Miami Herald" and "The Miami News", being as they have always been, systematic enemies of the Cuban people and the Cuban Government, could not do anything against their own interests or actions. That is the reason why they denied to their readers the right to know the truth, and why they refused to let any of their space be used to publish our refutation of Jorge Zayas' calumnies. That is the reason why they refused to reveal the true identity of Jorge Zayas, the managing editor of "Avance" and Regional Vice-President of the Inter-American Press Association's Freedom of the Press Committee.

The journalistic biography of Jorge Zayas is just like the history of all war criminals, the fugitives from justice, the enemies of the Cuban Revolution who have gone abroad to smear their own motherland. In one way or another, all of them served and helped Batista to the extent of their respective abilities, specialties and professions, and everyone of them was paid by Batista and contributed to the murder of 20,000 Cubans.

In this booklet the reader will find what neither "The Miami Herald" nor "The Miami News" wanted to publish: the truth they decided to continue hiding from their readers. It has been prepared and illustrated so that the honest men and women of all nationalities will know that a movement is afoot to stifle the voice of a small country whose only sin is to want independence and real liberty from foreign pressures and influences.

## DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS



"The turmoil in Cuba is hurting Florida economically and hurting Cuba to the point where it will take many years to repair the ill-will being generated."

"We at 'The Miami Herald' would be most happy if Mr. Castro could solve the Cuban problem, but the road that he has been traveling so far indicates that he is not capable of this feat."

Sincerely,

George Beebe  
Managing Editor

# The Truth

The Public Relations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Republic of Cuba desires to make available to North American public opinion the past history and record of Jorge Zayas, Editor of the daily *Avance*, who was designated by the Inter-American Press Association as Regional Vice-President of its Freedom of the Press Committee.

From March 10, 1952 to December 31, 1958, the Republic of Cuba was the victim of the most wretched and inhuman tyranny ever registered in the American Continent. During that long period over 20,000 Cubans were tortured and murdered, and the Cuban press was subjected to censorship, extreme violence and constant coercion. In other words at no time during those seven years was there any freedom of the press or of any other means of expression.

And during those seven years Jorge Zayas and his newspaper *Avance* were constantly at the service of the dictator, Batista, in open violation of all the principles that ought to govern and rule the conduct and general attitude of an honest, free and independent press.

Jorge Zayas and his daily *Avance*, who silenced the horrible crimes of the tyrant, were liberal when it came to leave evidence of the loyalty and servile support they chose to offer the dictator and his henchmen.

## "THE NATIONAL MOMENT"

"President Batista has, and it can't be denied, a genuinely revolutionary origin. Having arisen from chaos immediately after a regime that had a unanimous popular repulse was finally overthrown by the people, he gave the country a Constituent Assembly and impartial elections, as well as the full enjoyment of its political conquests, which was what the people longed for and expected".

(Published in "*Avance*" on March 11, 1952, twenty-four hours after the military coup through which Batista overthrew the constitutional government).

## "CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES"

"The United States Government has recognized General Batista's regime. It can be said that, really, this recognition of the government of General Batista by the Washington Government may be considered as a proof of that attitude now noticed outside of Cuba too, which considers the situation as the most convenient and desirable to the highest interests of the Nation".

(Published in "*Avance*" on March 27, 1952, associating the highest national interests with Batista's dictatorship).

## "THE STATUTE"

"The most outstanding development of the day is the New Constitutional Statute. Its text shows full respect for all the human rights consecrated by the 1940 Constitution. This fact is all the more encouraging to the common citizen because it was in order to achieve recognition of those rights, that he has struggled for a long time. Thus, its actual and real effectiveness can be regarded as the cornerstone that will enable the new regime to reach its goals".

(Published by "*Avance*" on April 7, 1952. Here it is claimed that the common citizen felt gratified by the repeal of the 1940 Constitution).

## "LET US NOT FALL INTO THE TRAP"

"If the country is showing its willingness to cooperate with the Government of General Batista in the task of national order and direction, as proved by the fact that the most representative sectors of the economy and of labor are pleased by the integration of the Consultative Council, no minority group, and much less if it represents disorganizing and anti-democratic tendencies, can be accepted as an obstacle to the total effort which must culminate precisely in a democratic restoration within the frame conceived, and promoted by the people, with the credit of the antecedent, now historical, or he who was the champion of the Constitution of 1940: General Batista".

(Published in "*Avance*" on April 24th, 1952, attempting to halt the growing protest of the people against the dictatorship).

## "JOURNALISM AND UNIONISM"

"As a result of the downright outrage to which a newspaperman, Sr. Mario Kuchilan, of *PRENSA LIBRE*, was subjected, the Association of Newspapermen of Havana has proposed a 72 hour work stoppage in all newspapers if those guilty of the deed are not discovered and arrested. On this occasion, as in October of last year, we disagree with the proposal, considering it totally incongruent with the very function of journalism, fulfilled, on the contrary, by the extraordinary occurrence of a protest in which the national press has given evidence of a spirit of solidarity. A voluntary newspapermen's strike would really make no sense".

(Published in "*Avance*" on August 21st, 1952, opposing the strike proposed by newspapermen, as a result of the kidnapping and torturing to which the newspaperman Mario Kuchilan was subjected by Batista's police).

## "THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS"

"Referring to the proposed newspapermen's strike urged by some, General Batista situated journalism in its proper place, to show that the intent contradicts the mission and the function of the press, which should make itself heard, as it has made itself heard before, with dignity and uprightness, without being perverted. No one can say that the President expresses here any ideas and opinions which offend journalistic ethics and, as we already pointed out when we dissented from the strike plan, a voluntary abandonment of the public pulpit presupposes relinquishment, desertion or resignation...".

(Published in "*Avance*", August, 1952, describing the dictator as a zealous guardian of the freedom of the press).

## "FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE 10TH OF MARCH"

"In the speech delivered yesterday by the President of the Republic, General Batista, on the occasion of the celebration of the 10th of March, there are certain aspects which are worth underlining, since they clarify questions on which the public opinion should be informed. Thus, for example, General Batista offered the reminder that he knows how to win and how to lose like a good soldier, since defeat is victory if it is accompanied by dignity".

"Yesterday's pronouncements could all be summarized in the conclusion that the objectives of the 10th of March, recapitulated by General Batista, reside essentially in the pacific re-establishment of Constitutional life within a democratic regime, an achievement which no Cuban should refuse to support".

(Published in "*Avance*" on March 11th, 1953, when the regime had already committed numerous crimes).

# It was thus that Jorge Zaldívar "Avance" defended the blood dictatorship of Batista

## "NATIONAL WATCH-WORD"

"The celebration of the second anniversary of the 10th of March, from whatever standpoint one may wish to view it, has been recorded with strong characters in the national history. In this respect there are no hesitations in governmental centers, nor do there seem to be at this late date any new circumstances which can serve General Batista from the objective which he outlined the dawn of the 10th of March of 1952".

(Published in "Avance" on March 11th, 1954, after the crimes of Fort Moncada had been committed and the dictatorship of Batista had established censorship of the press and promulgated the Public Order Law).

## "DEFINITIONS OF THE PRESIDENT"

"Regarding political questions, the President of the Republic has just ratified that the government marches firmly toward the elections of November first, the result of which will be accepted and respected by the men in power and General Batista himself. This ratification cannot be taken lightly by anyone, because General Batista knows the value of his own words, and the whole country has witnessed two historical instances in which his general attitude has been in line with his promises".

(Published in "Avance" on May 5th, 1954, to bear witness to its Editor's faith in the words and promises of the dictator).

## "ELECTIONS HELD NORMALLY;

### NUMEROUS WOMEN IN LONG QUES IN FRONT

### OF ELECTION BOOTHS"

(Headlines of the newspaper "Avance" on November 1st, 1954, brazenly lying about the mock election held by Batista, which the people refused to attend).

## "SUCCESS CROWNS ELECTION"

"There is no doubt that yesterday's election was really encouraging. It showed what we have been asserting so often, that is to say, that the Cuban people want peace, that they want to be left alone. It is obvious for General Batista's followers that the 10th of March had ample historical justification and, consequently, they rushed to reiterate their enthusiastic support by giving him their votes".

(Published in "Avance" on November 4th, 1954, praising and fully abiding by the most notorious electoral fraud ever witnessed here, with which it was attempted to justify the dictator's permanence in power).

## "SAINT'S DAY OF THE PRESIDENT"

"Tomorrow will be the saint's day of the President of the Republic, Major General Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar, who will spend it happily with his family and his numerous friends and admirers. On such occasion Avance is particularly happy to express to him, cordially as well as respectfully, its salutations and best wishes, praying to the Almighty that the moderating power placed in his hands by the Constitution through the highest office of the Nation, will enable him to give a pacific and harmonious co-existence for all Cubans to enjoy".

(Published by "Avance" on January 15th, 1957, just a few days after the massacre of the members of the "Granma" expedition on a bloody Christmas Day near the City of Holguín, and while press censorship was being strictly applied).

## "INAUGURATION"

Tomorrow, February 24th, at twelve noon. Major General Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar and Dr. Carlos Guas Inclán will be installed in the offices to which they were elected at the November 1st election. The country expects these men to give it a period of peace and constitutional order, and the people are fervently praying for new departures, and for the improvement and consolidation of gains in the political as well as in the economic and social fields".

(Published by "Avance" on February 23, 1955, hailing the inauguration of the tyrant).

## "NEW GOVERNMENT"

There is no doubt that the circumstances under which the date of the "Cry of Baire" was commemorated this year made of this patriotic celebration an event pregnant with hopes; and when a people has hopes it has to feel joyful, because the Constitution of 1940, having been restored and reinstated, now reincorporates the Nation to the democratic order which it chose for itself. And this is one of the glorious achievements of General Batista".

(This editorial appeared in "Avance" on February 25, 1955, when the people were supposed to be "pregnant with hopes" while actually subjected to unrelenting repression and terror).

## "THE MOMENT'S WATCH-WORD"

"There are some who believe that one should discuss politics only from the standpoint of the opposition. However, this is not the time for politics, not because it is so declared by the President of the Republic with clear perception of the needs of the country, but because it is believed by the people, and because it is evident that there is no desire for the struggles and unrest characteristic of political campaigns. The people abhor the activities that overstep the bounds of the political debate and penetrate into a dark region in which national peace and tranquility may be risked. There is no doubt that the people don't want any adventure which involves that risk, and refuse to be moved by all the claims and assertions made in the name of liberty, because the man on the street, the man who works for the well being of his family, is not concerned about the loss of any part of it when the dignity of his labor, the assurances given him by law and order as a man and a citizen, permit him to enjoy his rights without forgetting those of his fellow citizens".

(Published in "Avance" on June 27, 1955. In this article the dictatorship is regarded as the essence of liberty, and the efforts toward liberation of the Cuban people from the tyranny are condemned beforehand).

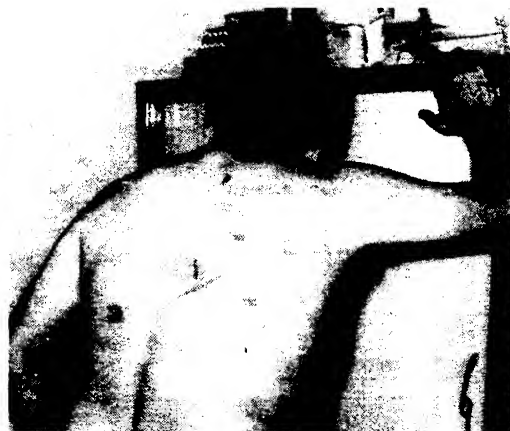
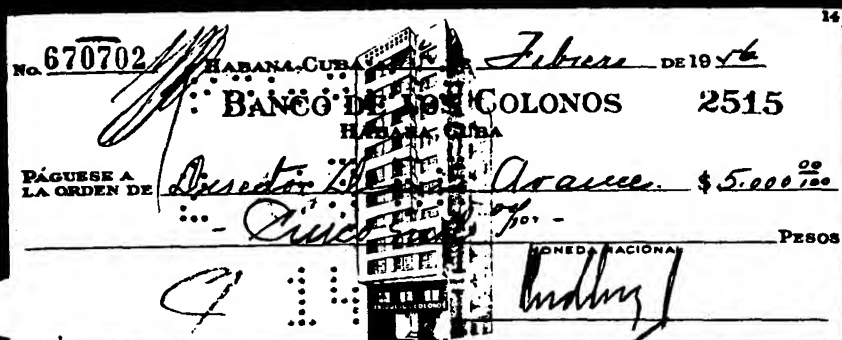
During the two years of warfare, while strict censorship was imposed on the press, Avance reproduced, without changing a comma, military reports issued by Batista's Army, in which false news and misrepresentations were constantly fed to the newspapers, including the most degrading names and abuse to the members of the Army of Liberation. In other words, this paper availed itself of every opportunity to show its support of the dictator and his regime.

The tyrant's birthday in 1958 was commemorated by Avance, when the number of victims had already surpassed the 15,000 figure as follows:

Tomorrow will be the birthday of the President of the Republic Major General Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar, who will celebrate it surrounded by his dear ones and by his numerous friends and admirers. . .

# ...and here are the proofs:

**JORGE ZAYAS' journalistic history was written on  
BATISTA'S checks ... and now he is a Regional  
Vice-President of the INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION !..**



PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT - MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

Republic of Cuba - February, 1960

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

DATE: MAR 21 1960

FROM : SAC, WFO (97-1017)

**SECRET**REC-32  
EX 109SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBAALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eleven copies of a letterhead memo dated as above and captioned "Proposed Latin-American, Middle-Eastern Conference, Havana, Cuba, September, 1960."

The Arabic material was translated by [REDACTED]. The Arabic material is being destroyed inasmuch as it has no evidentiary value; however, a copy of the translation is being retained in informant's file.

The letterhead memo has been classified "Confidential" inasmuch as it reflects our investigative interest in a [REDACTED] and inasmuch as the information contained therein could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

② - Bureau (Encls. 11)

4 - WFO

(1- [REDACTED])

(1- [REDACTED])

(1-105-26483) (MIDDLE EAST SITUATION)

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CLASSIFIED BY MC 60290 ACE/ACD  
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(6)

ENCLOSURE

REC-91

109-12-210-1354

25 MAR 22 1960

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EX-135

NAT. INT. SEC.

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## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI (100-12-210)

FROM : Legal Attaché, Madrid (109-16)

2-18-60

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 7-17-03 BY BUC 6 0290189

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As of possible interest to the Bureau, contacts with several sources on Cuban matters recently have resulted in the obtaining of information indicating that there is a great deal of pessimism in the Cuban exile circles due to the fact that until now it has been impossible to secure unity among the different dissident exile groups.

On 3-14-60 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] during the BATISTA regime, advised that from correspondence he has received from friends in Miami and from contacts with Cubans in Madrid, the exiles appear to be in about as complete a disagreement as ever. b7C

On 3-16-60 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] whose background is known to the Bureau and who is currently employed as an informant by the Information Section [REDACTED] furnished the same type of information. b7C

On 3-17-60 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a wealthy American citizen who was born in Cuba and who has lived all his life there, advised that there appears to be a complete lack of unity among the Cubans in exile. [REDACTED] expressed the opinion that any attempt to overthrow the CASTRO government by anyone having the slightest taint of BATISTA will be unsuccessful in that he will have no popular following within Cuba. He specifically mentioned ex-General JOSE E. PEDRAZA of the Cuban Army, whose name has been mentioned frequently as the leader of a proposed invasion force. b7C

[REDACTED], who arrived in Spain on 3-6-60, expressed the opinion that FIDEL CASTRO can probably last a couple of years longer in Cuba before his radical policies, particularly in economic matters, will react to the extent that he will lose his following in Cuba. [REDACTED] exhibited a cable he had recently received informing him that his home and belongings had been taken over by the military since he left Spain. b7C

REC-16

13 MAR 22 1960

NAT. INT. SEC. 135

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Madrid 109-16

This is furnished for the Bureau's information.  
This matter will continue to be followed by the Madrid Office  
and the Bureau will be advised.

P.

## ***FILE DESCRIPTION***



**SUBJECT** \_\_\_\_\_

Cuba

**FILE NO.** \_\_\_\_\_

109-HQ-12-210

**VOLUME NO.** \_\_\_\_\_

32

109-

HQ-12-210

Sec. 32

Serials 1356-1377

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109-HQ-12-210-32

/9 (Rev. 6-22-90)

Service:

REGULAR

File Number

109-12-210

Section

32

Serial Scope

1356

Serial (S)

1377

SAVANNAH PROJECT

Action:

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Employee

Name

REQUESTED BY

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TL.

Room

Ext.

Subject

Time :

Name

FILE OUT TO

Bldg.

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CUBA 1958 THRU 1964

Name DK19490

TO BE FORWARDED

Bldg.

TL.

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Subject

SAVANNAH PROJECT

COMMENT:

OUT PHN

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
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Date: 3/15/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Tolson	_____
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Mr. Trotter	_____
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Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, WFO (97-1017)

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available release to you.Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 3-1-60

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: ~~NEWSPAPER REPORTERS OF~~  
~~CUBAN AFFAIRS WHICH THE~~  
~~CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTRY~~  
~~STATES ARE OBJECTIVE REPORTERS~~  
~~OF THE CUBAN SITUATION~~

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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 W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## SYNOPSIS:

On 1-22-60, a confidential source of the Washington Field Office reported that the Cuban Foreign Ministry furnished the names of 12 newspaper reporters and radio news broadcasters to the Cuban delegation to the United Nations. These reporters and newsmen were described as objective reporters of Cuban affairs.

According to information in Bufiles and a review of material written on Castro and the Cuban government, five of the reporters and newsmen are very definitely pro-Castro;

Waldo David Frank: He has been member of and contributed to communist-front organizations for many years, and his statements frequently mentioned in "Daily Worker." Frank has lectured at universities in many parts of the world and earns his livelihood by writing special articles for magazines and newspapers published outside the U. S. He applied for passport to visit Communist China and lecture at Peking University, 1955. Passport refused by State Department and refusal appealed through courts to U. S. Supreme Court which affirmed denial of passport on 12-17-59. He traveled to Cuba on 9-24-59 on assignment with "Prensa Latina," a news agency for Castro's government, and made pro-Castro statements while visiting in Cuba. His statements were widely reported in "Hoy," communist Cuban newspaper.

Alan Levy: Not identifiable in Bufiles. He wrote article in 1-18-60 issue "The New Republic" relating to Cuba entitled "We Are 50 Years Behind." Levy said he recently spent two weeks traveling through Cuba and article is sympathetic to Castro. Copy of article is attached.

Enclosures (2)

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
 1 - Mr. Belmont

JK: (5)

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49 REC-54

15 MAR 22 1960

(continued next page)

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 DATE 7-17-83 BY [signature]

0 Political Matter - Cuba

*Herbert Matthews*  
*Cuba*  
*Herbert Matthews*  
Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

*See Bufile*  
Herbert Lionel Matthews: He has worked for "New York Times" since 1922, presently on editorial staff of that newspaper. Matthews has definitely been pro-Castro since he interviewed Castro in his mountain retreat in 1957. When Castro visited U.S. in April, 1959, he reportedly stated that the "Times" and Matthews made the Cuban revolution possible. He wrote article for "Times" on 7-16-59 stating Cuban government not influenced by communism and no communists were in high positions. This article was at variance with known facts resulting from FBI investigations. The Vice President and Robert Kleberg who attended conference on Latin-American affairs at President's direction both advised of Matthews' Castro sympathies.

*See Bufile*  
Jack Paar: Paar has been sympathetic with Castro government since he visited Cuba and originated some of his programs there. While visiting Cuba in October, 1959, he reported that Cuba had bad press in U.S., and he hoped to give the country a break on his program. In January, 1960, Paar defended Castro's government stating he was loved by the people and that many statements coming from newspapers regarding Cuba were untrue.

*See Bufile*  
Robert Taber: Not identifiable in Bufiles. He wrote nine-page article for 1-23-60 issue of "The Nation" sympathetic to Castro government. Taber reportedly visited Cuba four times during revolutionary period and was first newsman to do radio-TV interview of him. He quotes Herbert Matthews, the "New York Times" Cuban specialist who is also sympathetic to Castro. Copy of his article attached.

*See Bufile*  
Richard Watts, Jr., of the "New York Post" was named as an objective reporter on Cuban affairs. Bufiles contain no data indicating his interest in Cuban affairs. Watts is Drama Critic for the "Post" and according to Louis Budenz was mentioned at many Communist Party meetings. He has belonged to numerous front groups and was security index subject of our New York Office for about five years. He is frequently quoted in "Daily Worker" and is close associate of Frederick Vanderbilt Field who finances activities of Communist Party.

Our files contain no information indicating that the remaining reporters and newsmen have particular interest in Castro or his government. Some of these reporters are close friends of the Bureau. These friends are:

Jones to DeLoach Memorandum

Robert B. Considine: Saw the Director on 3-30-59 and wrote series of articles complimentary to the Bureau and the Director in April and May, 1959. Our relations are very cordial with him.

David Kraslow: As reporter for "Miami Herald" for many years, he was cooperative with our representatives in Miami. He has been in Washington since June, 1956, and is still friendly and helpful to us. His newspaper does follow the Cuban revolutionary government because of its close proximity to that island.

Other reporters mentioned by the Cuban Foreign Ministry whose interest in Cuba is not known include the following:

Walter Lippman: He is columnist of international prominence and respected by professional newsmen. Lippman was active in Harvard Socialist Club and friend of John Reed, deceased American communist, while at Harvard. Lippman saw the Soviet Ambassador on 4-2-59.

Wellek Oltmans: Correspondent for independent Dutch magazine, "Dreizeilander," and reporter on United Nations affairs. No pertinent data in Bufiles.

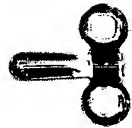
No reference in Bufiles identifiable with Arthur Stener of "The Nation" and Guillermo Caram of WRUL found.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

ENCLOSURE

109-12-210-1352



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DATE 7/17/03 BY AUC 602908CE/100/2K

*Involved Only*

~~WALDO DAVID FRANK~~  
~~Author, Lecturer, Reporter~~

Frank was born in New Jersey on 8-25-89 and was graduated from Yale in 1911. He is not employed on a regular basis by any of the well-known newspapers but earns his livelihood as a contributor to various magazines and writing special articles for newspapers published outside the U.S.

Frank has been a member and contributor to front organizations of the Communist Party for over 30 years. His articles have frequently been mentioned in the "Daily Worker" in a sympathetic tone and for many years, he has contributed to the newspaper, "Hoy," the communist Cuban newspaper. Frank has lectured at universities in many parts of the world and in 1955, received an invitation to speak to Communist Chinese national universities including a series of lectures at Peking University. His application for a passport to make the trip to China was refused by the State Department and Frank appealed this refusal to the highest courts. On 12-17-59, certiorari was denied by the U.S. Supreme Court affirming the State Department's refusal to issue the passport.

Frank is a prolific letter writer and on 11-30-59, wrote a long letter to the "New York Times" captioned "To Support Cuba." This letter was an obvious defense of Castro and his government and contained statements that Castro and his top leaders were not followers of communism and stated that they are honest men. He remarked that Castro is the authentic voice of the Cuban people.

He traveled to Cuba, arriving on 9-24-59 to become a special feature writer for "Prensa Latina," a news-gathering agency of the Cuban revolutionary government. While in Cuba, he appeared on a program known as the Cuban "Meet the Press," where he stated that Cuban youths are engaged in constructing a nation while youths in the U.S. are engaged in false intellectual assignments. He expressed the hope that the Cuban revolution would continue in the same degree of intensity as it has at its beginning. His statements and public appearances in Cuba were fully reported in "Hoy," the official Communist Party newspaper which stated that he would write a series of articles on Cuba upon his return to the U.S. There is no indication in his Main file that he has written these articles.  
(100-259110)

ALAN LEVY  
"Louisville Courier Journal"

No information in Bufiles identifiable with Levy was found, and no data in available reference books made mention of him.

The 1-18-60 issue of "The New Republic" contains an article written by an Alan Levy containing a heading Report from Cuba entitled "We Are 50 Years Behind." A copy of the one-page article is attached. This Levy reported that he recently spent two weeks traveling through Cuba, and he is obviously sympathetic with Castro's government and is of the opinion that the Cuban population supports Castro.

**HERBERT LIONEL MATTHEWS**  
Correspondent for the "New York Times"

The Bureau has not investigated Herbert L. Matthews, who was born in New York City on 1-10-00 and was graduated from Columbia University in 1922. He has been employed by the "New York Times" since graduating from college and has been assigned as reporter, foreign editor, war correspondent, chief of the London Bureau, 1945-49, and on the editorial staff of that newspaper since 1949. His foreign assignments have included Ethiopia, Spain, Italy and India.

Matthews has been accused of minimizing the communist threat in Latin America particularly in connection with the overthrow of the former Batista government by Fidel Castro. He wrote a series of articles for the "Times" in 1957 after interviewing Castro in his hide-out. In 1958, he cabled his newspaper that "Just about every Cuban he met was convinced that Batista remained in power because of the support of the U. S. State Department" according to an editorial in the "New York Post" of 4-2-58. (100-401767)

When Castro visited the U. S. in April, 1959, a confidential source reported that he visited the "New York Times" and talked to Editor Arthur Sulzberger and Herbert L. Matthews. Castro was overheard to tell the "Times" personnel that communism would be no problem in Cuba as long as he was the leader. Castro said of Matthews that without his help and the help of the "New York Times," the revolution in Cuba would not have been. Castro also remarked that the American people were too suspicious of communism. (109-539-282)

Taylor Grant, a news reporter substituting for Walter Winchell on 7-27-59, mentioned that the "New York Times" has two experts on Cuba who take opposite views on Castro. He said that Matthews, whom he described as a veteran Latin-American correspondent who visited Castro in the mountains in 1957, claims that Castro is not a communist. Matthews also believes that there are no communists in key positions in Cuba and that communists have no influence in Cuba. Grant pointed out that Mrs. R. Hart Phillips, the other "Times" reporter on Cuba, takes exactly the opposite view. Grant's remarks were made in connection with comments on the former Cuban Air Force Chief Major Diaz who defected.



Matthews wrote a feature article for the "New York Times" published on 7-16-59 captioned "Cuba Has a One-Man Rule And It Is Called Non-Red." This article indicated that there were no communists in the Cuban government in high positions and that no communist influence was exercised upon Castro's government and that Castro is anticommunist.

This article was analyzed in the Bureau, and many of the statements made by Matthews were at variance with known facts developed by our investigation concerning the Cuban government. The Vice President mentioned the article to the Director, and subsequently he was sent a copy of our analysis of the article, clearly setting forth the fact that Matthews was obviously pro-Castro and not objective in his facts. On 10-14-59, Robert Kleberg, President of King Ranch, Inc., called the Director from New York stating that he was going to a conference on Latin America and that background material for the conference had been prepared under the direction of Herbert Matthews. On the same date the Director called Jack Malone of Kleberg's office and informed him that Matthews had written very pro-Castro articles and was an apologist for Castro's government. Mr. Hoover advised him that while he would not call Matthews a communist, he would rather deal with an out-and-out communist than a fellow like Matthews with all of his double tak. (105-59321)

**JACK PAAR**  
**National Broadcasting Company**

The Bureau has not investigated Jack Paar, the well-known comedian who is seen over NBC stations in the late evening hours. Paar recently had a dispute with NBC which allegedly cut the tape of his program to delete a story without his knowledge. This incident received widespread publicity and Paar has reportedly resolved his difficulties with the network. He is now vacationing in Hawaii.

Within recent weeks Paar has made statements on his program complimentary of the Cuban government and in defense of Castro. His feelings in regard to the Cuban situation are not new for he visited Cuba in October, 1959, when he told reporters that Cuba had received bad press in the U.S., and he hoped to give the country a break on his program. (109-12-210)

On 1-27-60, Paar commented on his program that he had read about the untruthful things which the newspapers were reporting about Cuba. He commented that from his own experience, the statements simply were not true, and he went on to describe how Castro was loved by his people and that history would describe Castro as a courageous leader. Paar admitted that his views on the Cuban situation were colored by the red carpet rolled out for him when he originated several shows in that country. (New York Journal-American, 1-28-60)

**ROBERT TABER**  
Columbia Broadcasting  
System Newsman

Bufiles contain no pertinent identifiable data relating to Taber. He was the author, however, of an article published in the 1-23-60 issue of "The Nation" captioned "The Picture in Focus: Castro's Cuba." A copy of this article is attached.

A brief biographical sketch accompanying the article relates that Taber was an eyewitness to the Cuban revolution during four critical periods:

As a CBS newsman, Robert Taber was an eyewitness to the Cuban Revolution during four critical periods: in April, 1957, he spent three weeks with Castro in the Sierra Maestra, and was the first newsman to do a radio-TV interview with the revolutionary leader; he was again in Oriente Province during the 'total war' phase of the fighting in the spring of 1958; in the summer of that year, he spent two months with Fidel's brother, Raul, watching the guerrilla fighting in northern Oriente; and a year ago he witnessed Fidel's triumphant entry into Havana. He has since returned to Cuba several times doing research for a forthcoming book, 'M-26: Biography of a Revolution.' The following article is based on material from the book."

This article is nine pages in length and is very sympathetic of the Cuban government citing the alleged reforms initiated by Castro in great detail. Taber also quotes Herbert Matthews, the "New York Times" Latin-American correspondent and another apologist for Castro, in his article which is, of course, sympathetic to the revolutionary leader.

**RICHARD WATTS, JR.**  
Drama Critic for the  
"New York Post"

Watts was born 1-12-98, at Parkersburg, West Virginia, and attended Columbia University, 1917-21. He has been employed by numerous New York papers from 1922 until the present time and served at Chungking, China, with the Office of War Information in 1944.

Richard Watts, Jr., was the subject of a security index card of our New York Office from 1951 to 1955. Louis Budenz advised that he had heard Watts' name referred to in the course of Communist Party meetings but could not recall any specific information regarding his Communist Party activities. Our investigation revealed that he has belonged to or been associated with many communist front groups including Action Committee to Free Spain Now, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, China Welfare Appeal, Inc., Civil Rights Congress, The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, The Freedom From Fear Committee, The Jefferson School of Social Science and The League of American Writers.

Watts has been frequently quoted in the "Daily Worker" and the "New Masses" and is apparently a close associate of Frederick Vanderbilt Field, financial angel of the Communist Party.

In 1956, he applied for a passport to Russia and in October of that year changed his mind about this trip and did not leave the U.S. (100-380018)

Bufiles contain no pertinent data regarding his attitude toward Fidel Castro and the Cuban situation.

X      See serial 1

**ROBERT B. CONSIDINE**  
**Syndicated Columnist for**  
**Hearst Newspapers**

Considine was born 11-4-06 in Washington, D. C., attended Gonzaga High School and The George Washington University. He was a sports writer and writer of Sunday features for the "Washington Post," 1930-33, and sports editor and editorial writer with the "Washington Herald," 1933-37. He was a war correspondent for International News Service during World War II and in Korea in 1950. He is the author of several successful books and has contributed fiction and articles to national magazines since 1944. He lives in New York City.

Relations with Considine have been most cordial, and he is on the Special Correspondents' List. In 1940, he wrote an article quoting from a record which erroneously indicated the FBI had conducted an investigation of an organization which, in fact, we had not investigated. Considine was so advised by letter dated 7-30-40.

Considine saw the Director on 3-30-59 in connection with a series of articles he was preparing. He also toured the Bureau in April, 1959, and wrote columns entitled "The Long Arm of the FBI" and "Lab Is FBI's Bloodhound" very complimentary of the Bureau published in the "New York Journal-American" in April, 1959. In May, 1959, he wrote a series of articles featuring the Director which were very well done and which received widespread circulation. The Director wrote Considine on 5-15-59 expressing appreciation for his thoroughness and objectivity in writing this series.

There is no indication in our files that Considine is greatly interested in Cuban affairs.

**DAVID KRASLOW**  
Reporter for the  
"Miami Herald"

For many years, Kraslow was a reporter for the "Miami Herald," and representatives of our Miami Office enjoyed very cordial relations with him. In June, 1956, he was assigned as the Washington correspondent for the "Miami Herald," and our relations have been very friendly with him since he assumed that position. He has written numerous articles regarding the Bureau and our investigations, and he has uniformly been complimentary of our operations.

The "Miami Herald," due to the physical proximity of Florida to Cuba, has, of course, been interested in the developments in that country particularly since Castro came into power. There is no indication in Bufiles, however, that his contacts or interests have extended beyond the scope of that expected of an alert newspaper reporter. As recently as 2-3-60, you contacted him to advise that a Russian car en route from New York to Miami had a lot of mechanical difficulty and had to be towed. (105-83627; 94-8-353)

~~X~~ *Summary*  
**WALTER LIPPMAN**  
**Syndicated Columnist**  
**"New York Herald Tribune"**

*N.Y.*  
Lippman was born in New York City, on 9-23-89, was graduated from Harvard University in 1910, was employed as Assistant to the Secretary of War in 1917 and has served as Editor of "The New Republic" and the "New York World."

Lippman has international prominence as a newspaper columnist who interprets both national and international affairs, and he has written several books and magazine articles on economics, politics and international relations.

Lippman was active in the Harvard Socialist Club while attending that school and was also a close friend of John Reed, American communist author who is buried in the Kremlin. He was a member of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, in 1937-38, and his secretary from 1939 to 1943, Mary Price, reportedly furnished information from his files to a Soviet espionage network during the early 1940's. (100-401767)

A confidential source of our Washington Field Office advised that Lippman saw the Soviet Ambassador at a luncheon in the Soviet Embassy on 4-2-59. Our files contain no pertinent data reflecting Lippman's interest in the Cuban situation which would merit investigation.



~~WELLEM OLTMANS~~

United Nations Correspondent

Bufiles contain an Immigration and Naturalization Service form dated 2-9-57 indicating that a ~~Willem L. Oltmans~~, whose occupation is "writer," received a Netherlands visa to attend the United Nations General Assembly for approximately four weeks in February, 1957. This Oltmans entered the United States at New York on 2-9-57. His date of birth was given as 6-10-25 in the Netherlands, and his home address as Djakarta, Java, Indonesia. This form contained no additional pertinent data. (105-16424-258-3399)

On 2-24-59, Mrs. Lyon G. Tyler of Richmond, Virginia, advised our Richmond Office that a ~~William Oltman~~, a United Nations correspondent for a weekly independent Dutch magazine, "Dreizeilander," had recently lectured before the Women's Club of Virginia in Richmond. She said Oltman was taken on a tour of Williamsburg on the day following his lecture and that he asked her and other members of the group for the names of prominent persons in both Virginia and Washington. She said many such names were furnished to him. His alleged purpose for requesting the names was to assist in a book he was writing and that he hoped to meet many of the prominent people in order to gather material for the book.

Mrs. Tyler stated that upon reflection, she was concerned with the authenticity of Oltman and had requested to see credentials which he had declined to show her, and he was not familiar with the names of persons on the Middle East desk of the State Department which Mrs. Tyler felt he should know. He also made critical comments of Secretary of State Dulles and Governor Rockefeller of New York. Mrs. Tyler said the lecture before her club was arranged through an unidentified lecture circuit. (100-0-32561)

No other data was found in Bufiles relating to Wellem Oltmans.

The following journalists and reporters named by the Cuban Foreign Ministry are not identifiable in Bufiles and no biographical data relating to them was found in reference books:

Arthur Stener  
"The Nation

Guillermo Caram  
WRUL  
New York

## REPORT FROM CUBA

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DATE 1/17/83 BY RUC 60040 BJS/KJOK

## "We Are 50 Years Behind"

## Manzanillo, Oriente Province

The sign was similar to the platitudes that appear on stateside desks and counters warning: "My Mind Is Made Up. Don't Confuse Me With The Facts." But this was the commandant's desk at a barracks of girl soldiers in Cuba's Sierra Maestra. And the message read: "Be Brief: We Are 50 Years Behind." The difference in messages is a better measure of the gap between two nations than the 90 miles between Florida and Castroland.

The girls are taking a census to determine how many mountain children there are who must benefit from Cuba's new compulsory education. Anticipating the answer, the Cuban Army is building in the Sierra foothills a "City of Children" to take care of 20,000 pupils between ages 6 and 18 who will come there for education in both basic and agricultural subjects. They will be exposed to modern farm methods and machinery. They will be fed and clothed by the government and sent home periodically to visit and help their families. Some 600 structures - dormitories, libraries, schools and a hospital - are supposed to go up by July 26, 1962.

The children's city is being built with Agrarian Reform funds. And Agrarian Reform means more than creeping Robin Hoodism. It means roads, boats, fish, schools, hotels - everything that can possibly transform Cuba in time from the one-crop (sugar) economy that produced a few wealthy landowners and many poor.

In Oriente Province - which is the center of the country's agriculture, poverty and revolutions - the most powerful man is the Agrarian Reform chief, Dr. Rene Vallejo, a bearded 38-year-old surgeon who once served in the US Army. "I think Fidel is a genius," Dr. Vallejo says. "He gets the money for Agrarian Reform and he puts it in the bank. He comes to me and I tell him what has to be done. Then he takes out his checkbook and writes me a check for a million dollars for a fishing co-operative and a check for a hundred-thousand dollars for another project. There is no red tape, no paper work, and you can be sure of the man's absolute honesty. There are some departments in any government that are good for nothing but slowing things down with paper work. But the way Fidel operates, I walk ahead and let the papers catch up with me."

It is hard to conceive of officials informally running public business as if the national treasury was a joint checking account, but to Cubans, Fidel means faith as well as incorruptibility. The assertiveness with which Cuba is striding toward *manana* can be attributed to this public trust and the way Cubans have united around

their one symbol of hope. The brash question, posed to President Eisenhower by a newsmen, about what is "eating" Castro should have been: "What's eating Cuba?"

A one-word answer occurs to a *norteamericano* who has just spent two weeks traveling across this fierce island by bus, jeep, DC-3 and prop-jet: "Revolution." When Fulgencio Batista's plane taxied to the runway at Camp Columbia and lifted seven years of tyranny from Cuban shoulders, the revolution was no more than a preliminary upheaval. Like any revolution, good or evil or somewhere between, Cuba's is one of excesses and complexes. The unwholesome excesses - six-hour television speeches, circus trials, lurid accusations - have been clinically and vividly presented to the world, perhaps because they occur in Havana, where the foreign correspondents are concentrated. The admirable varieties of excess - building a motel in the middle of a cattle co-op because you're sure visiting farmers will want to see what you've done; volunteering to join a truckload of city folk who spend Sundays helping soldiers construct the "City of Children" - cannot be witnessed from the roof of the Havana Hilton. Reporters who do try to learn in Havana what's happening in rural Cuba get lectures, but not much help, from a government that derives its public-relations policy from the 19th Century poet, José Martí: "Build now, propagandize later."

Cuba has its share of inferiority and persecution complexes. Counter-revolutionaries, reactionaries, *latifundistas* (exorbitantly rich landowners), Batista men, and Trujillo men draw the greatest abuse. The United States' quota of vitriol is rather small for a large nation that converted Cuba's War of Independence into the Spanish-American War and then tarried for what Cubans consider an unduly long period of "administration."

But when a US diplomat takes a paternalistic tone or a US publication misquotes Castro, the explosion in Cuba is greater than that which sets it off. Castro - whose reactions are sometimes poetic, sometimes earthy, but always bigger than life - reflects and inspires this reaction. If, shortly before air time, he happens to see *US News & World Report's* long-running feature, "Why Castro Can't Last," or a whimsical newspaper story alleging that Cuba's Santa Claus will have black beards next Christmas, he is likely to devote 30 minutes of his six hours to a denunciation of US foreign policy. The denunciation, however, will take up 80 percent of the space devoted to Cuba in the US press the next day.

ALAN LEVY

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DATE 7-17-83 BY 6070 CC/HUS/PA

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em, or rather

fails to respond. The answer is always: \$41 billion, take it or leave it, and naturally they take it. The Commander-in-Chief has spoken, and after all, he is a general himself. He calls attention to this undeniable fact

and maintains that he knows more about military needs than anyone else. It takes a general to stand up to hungry generals. If they ever rejoiced that a general was President, they do so no longer. When General Phillips says they are waiting out the year in quiet desperation (it's not so quiet, actually) he explains that he means they are waiting for a new Administration which will not be so merciless. Most problems of the next President are hidden behind the veil of the future, but here is one that can be predicted a whole year before he takes office.

### Verdict of the Viewers

The allegation that the private citizen can make no dent on his culture is often no more than buck-passing. When, last month, word spread through the New York area that WNTA-TV considered dropping its sponsor-ship "Play of the Week," 27,000 persons sent letters and postcards of protest to the station. Impressed by this fervent, though by no means overwhelming, expression of enthusiasm for the program, the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), one of the nation's largest corporations, has now assumed complete sponsorship of the show.

We congratulate Standard Oil for having thus responded to public demand and we congratulate WNTA on being vindicated in its belief that television can produce first-class theatre under dignified auspices. Most of all, we congratulate the 27,000 citizens who understood that their opinion *does* matter.

## THE PICTURE IN FOCUS:

### CASTRO'S CUBA . . . by Robert Taber

*As a CBS newsman, Robert Taber was an eyewitness to the Cuban Revolution during four critical periods: in April, 1957, he spent three weeks with Castro in the Sierra Maestra, and was the first newsman to do a radio-TV interview with the revolutionary leader; he was again in Oriente Province during the "total war" phase of the fighting in the spring of 1958; in the summer of that year, he spent two months with Fidel's brother, Raúl, watching the guerrilla fighting in northern Oriente; and a year ago he witnessed Fidel's triumphant entry into Havana. He has since returned to Cuba several times doing research for a forthcoming book, M-26: Biography of a Revolution. The following article is based on material from the book.—Editors.*

IN *Our Man in Havana*, novelist Graham Greene wrote a farce about a debt-ridden British vacuum-cleaner dealer in Havana, who was recruited as an intelligence agent for his country. Lacking information of the sort required by his employers,

the dealer began to invent it. In due course, he filed a report about a mysterious concrete platform being constructed, he asserted, in the remote, rebel-controlled mountains of eastern Cuba. Then, when pressed by his superiors for more details, he

was reduced, in desperation, to drawing plans of a gigantic "secret weapon," which he said was being installed on the mysterious platform in the mountains. His model and source of inspiration: a streamlined vacuum-cleaner attachment among his wares.

Greene presented this, of course, as gentle satire, spoofing the puerile but deadly serious and occasionally frightening preoccupation of the great powers with the cloak-and-dagger fantasies of their "cold war." What the novelist did not consider, perhaps, was that such fantasies can be made credible once they are put in the frame of reference of

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propaganda to which people have already been conditioned.

Thus, David Sentner, in the Hearst Headline Service newspaper column "Washington Window," of November 12, 1959:

Are Red Russian military technicians helping the anti-American Castro Cuban government to build a missile base?

There is a gigantic concrete "emplacement" in Camaguey Province in Cuba, nearing completion. It is marked "Off Limits" by the Cuban authorities and it is heavily guarded by Castro soldiery.

This much our intelligence agents know, but no more.

The Hearst columnist goes on to say that there is "evidence" that small arms were smuggled ashore from Russian submarines during the struggle against Batista, adding that there is, however, "*no corroboration to date*" of the new Cuban regime having received any missiles," i.e., from the Soviet Union.

The plain inference is that the Cubans *have* received Soviet missiles, smuggled ashore from Russian submarines, and that this will soon be "corroborated."

Presumably, no one has yet plagiarized *Our Man in Havana* to the extent of sending drawings of vacuum-cleaner attachments to our Central Intelligence Agency in Washington. However, much of the reportage on the Cuban scene during the past year supports the suspicion that even this might not be too much to anticipate.

THE FACT is that the "gigantic concrete emplacement" mystery of the Hearst newspapers differs only in degree, certainly not in kind, from the great bulk of what has been reported in the press and on radio and TV in the United States concerning the Cuban Revolution since Dictator Fulgencio Batista's precipitate flight from Havana on New Year's Day, 1959. We have witnessed a virulent press campaign, concocted of ignorance, half-truths, name calling, connotative misdirection and outright fabrication, all tending to erode the first bright image of the revolution and to discredit its leadership.

One must concede at once that the Cuban revolutionaries themselves have provided, gratis, a great deal of the ammunition which has been hurled against them. Fidel Castro's off-the-cuff remark that in the event of United States military intervention in Cuba "... twenty thousand *gringos* would die!" was scarcely calculated to endear him to the North American press or people. He has added a great many provocations to this initial one since last January. Oratorical intemperance, a Cuban flair for exaggeration, and a failure to take account of other people's prejudices, have all contributed to damaging misunderstandings.

It is barely possible that a more adroit public-relations effort vis-à-vis the United States might have eased some of the strain. But one must instantly add that no amount of oil spread on troubled waters could have ameliorated the underlying conflict of interests of which the surface storm of propaganda is merely symptomatic. Nor could clever press relations long have concealed this paramount fact: *The Cuban Revolution was and is, above all, a Cuban declaration of independence from the United States.*

This is what made it certain that Fidel Castro's U.S. press notices would be mostly unfavorable. They could not have been otherwise.

IN ORDER to understand the nature of the conflict, one must consider briefly the status of the island before the revolution, and then proceed to review the developments of the past year.

From Cuba's founding as a republic in 1903 until December 31, 1958, when the Batista regime abruptly collapsed, the country was for every practical purpose a United States colony, captive both economically and politically. Its first constitution gave the United States the privilege of intervening in Cuban affairs, both internal and external — a privilege invoked more than once under the detested Platt Amendment, which was not abrogated until 1934. Cuba's trade treaties were written in Washington and Wall Street. The greater part of its resources—sugar, mineral

rights, public-utility concessions, cattle lands — were controlled by U.S. capital. In such circumstances, it can scarcely be doubted that the succession of rapacious professional politicians who ruled Cuba during most of the half-century or so of its republican existence were necessarily the caretakers of a vast amount of American, rather than Cuban, wealth. And whatever else he may have been, the dictator who fled to Santo Domingo on the first day of 1959 was one of these — a discredited, dispossessed custodian of the Yankee dollar.

A SIZABLE part of the Cuban business community — the small merchants and the economic nationalists of finance and industry — had opposed Batista and made common cause with Fidel Castro's bearded revolutionaries for reasons of their own. But to the extent that these Cuban businessmen understood the radical *fidelista* program, set forth in all its essential details as early as 1953, they were wary of him. At best, they wished him only a limited success — that is, they hoped that he would serve as a cat's-paw to destroy the Batista regime, but that he would subsequently be forced to accept a "liberal" coalition government representing their interests. If worst came to worst, they felt, it would probably be possible to "do business" with Castro, very much as business had been done with other nominally popular governments in the past.

*Fortune* magazine, discussing the question of agrarian reform under the Castro government in its September, 1959, issue, put the matter very well:

If the rich, powerful and normally cynical Cubans began to be disquieted by the realization that giving land to somebody involved taking it from somebody else (i.e., themselves), they didn't raise the point. Some prominent citizens thought that the new hero was merely making appropriate noble noises, and that when the excitement subsided, he would give them the cordial and cooperative government they liked.

That impression certainly prevailed among the rich, powerful and normally cynical Americans with a

*The NATION*

stake in Cuba, and no doubt was shared by Washington as well.

These cynics were soon disappointed. Even before Fidel had reached Havana, the "noble noises" of the *fidelistas* were echoed by the crash of revolutionary rifles as the first and worst of some 550 war criminals, notorious torturers and mass murderers of the Batista regime died before firing squads.

At the outset, Castro installed a politically "equidistant" government in the Presidential palace in Havana. Only a few of its members were actual revolutionaries. However, any hope that the conservatives of the new Cabinet would soon restore "business as usual" was speedily dashed by the realization that the provisional government was not, in fact, governing. The administration of state affairs, like the trial and execution of the war criminals and the reorganization of the armed forces, remained in the hands of Fidel Castro and his supporters.

A month after Batista's overthrow, Fidel accepted nominal as well as actual authority by becoming Prime Minister. The Cabinet was reorganized, and the long-promised social revolution got under way.

A HORRENDOUS outcry had already arisen in the United States press in reaction to the war-crimes trials, which were seen as a portent of the intransigent radicalism of the Castro movement.

The island of Cuba, of slight interest to the newspaper-reading public during seven years of struggle against the Batista dictatorship, was suddenly rediscovered only "ninety miles off our shores, site of the American naval base that guards our southern defenses, anchor of our defense of the Panama Canal, and key to the future of Latin America . . ." An army of American journalists flocked to Havana, and torrents of sensational, adjective-packed prose — more than had been written during the two preceding years of civil war — began to flow back. Members of Congress took up the cry. Republican Senator Capehart of Indiana perceived "the spectacle of a bearded monster stalking through Cuba." Representative

Wayne Hays, possibly better informed about the sugar-beet industry of his own Ohio than about Cuban affairs, demanded to know what the State Department intended to do to "calm Castro down, before he depopulates Cuba." *Time* magazine informed its readers that the *fidelistas* were taking revenge on a conquered foe, and listed among "typical victims" the name of Alejandro Garcia Olayon, a naval officer accused of having roasted six persons alive, and of having supervised the slaughter of some three hundred persons, after an abortive uprising in Cienfuegos in 1957.

The campaign abated somewhat as understanding dawned that the



Bohemia, Havana  
Fidel Castro

revolutionary tribunals, although following a code of Cuban rather than Anglo-Saxon juridical procedure, were administering strict justice, that there was no slightest question as to the guilt of those condemned, and that all sectors of the Cuban population, as well as the Catholic clergy itself, stood amazed at the furore of foreign criticism. Perhaps it was perceived, too, that the revolutionary government did not seem to be doing anything so revolutionary in its first month in office that it would seriously jeopardize the \$850,000,000 of private U.S. investment capital in Cuba.

Fidel's accession to the Premiership in February signaled an important consolidation of power by the *fidelistas* movement. To quote *The New York Times* of February 22:

The action of Fidel Castro in per-

sonally taking over the office of the Premier of the Republic of Cuba reflects his recognition of the fact that the people accept him as their supreme leader. The truth is that they regard him as not only Premier in the Government of Dr. Manuel Urrutia, whom he proclaimed President, but as the very Government itself.

Precisely so. It does not follow, however, that opposition to the revolutionary process had ended, as we shall see.

In mid-April, the Cuban Premier made a visit to the United States that seemed, briefly, to promise improved relations with Washington. But friendly gestures were no substitute for deeds; basic conflicts of interest, both economic and political, proved irreconcilable, and the *rap-prochement* failed to "take." Cuba had embarked on a revolutionary course from which there has been, to date, no turning.

On the political plane, Castro made it clear that his government had no intention of following, in blind submission, Washington's lead in the cold war. He said that although his revolutionary movement was "not Red, but olive green" (a reference to the color of the revolutionary uniform), it did not intend to persecute the Cuban Communists of the *Partido Socialista Popular*. With regard to the island's foreign policy, he said that Cuba would choose its own path, both politically and in its commercial relations with other countries. United States interference in matters related to Cuban defense — specifically the question of some British aircraft which Cuba sought to buy and the State Department persuaded Britain not to sell — subsequently produced the statement that if the island could not satisfy its needs in the West, it would do so "elsewhere," i.e., in the Communist countries, if need be.

In the United Nations, where Batista's representative, Nuñez Portuondo, had been considered the bellwether of the United States' "solid Latin American bloc," Cuba broke the united front for the first time by abstaining from voting on a U.S. proposal to postpone debate for another year on the question of seating Communist China.

A mere glance at the bare bones of

the *fidelistas* economic program is sufficient to disclose the reasons for the attraction that it originally exerted on the economic nationalists in Cuban business and banking circles. The same facts and figures reveal as well, however, the basis of future opposition to the movement on the part of other, larger and more powerful, economic interests in Cuba and in the United States.

The promised diversification of agriculture meant that Cuba could hope to stop spending \$20 million annually on Texas and Louisiana rice, and even greater sums on U.S. canned food products and bottled beverages, and produce its own. Protective tariffs and government aid to fledgling native industries promised to create both higher employment and an expansion of domestic markets, based on the increased purchasing power of a more productive labor force. Agrarian reform, to turn half a million squatters and itinerant agricultural workers into prosperous small farmers, held out the same hope of greater general prosperity and a better distribution of the nation's wealth.

And all of these measures, as well as others in prospect, signified something else of great importance: an end to the flight of capital, principally in the form of sugar profits, that had been flowing from Cuba by the hundreds of millions of dollars over the years, never to return.

IF IT seems paradoxical to say that sugar was the island's principal source of income and at the same time an incubus on the Cuban people, it is because a simple fact has not been considered: fully 40 per cent of the nation's sugar production, with an annual value of more than \$600 million, was firmly in the hands of U.S. corporations in 1958. (In the past, the percentage had risen as high as 70.) An additional 10 to 20 per cent was controlled by Canadian, Spanish and other foreign interests. Thus less than half of a product accounting for nearly two-thirds of Cuba's national income, and fully 80 per cent of her export, was actually controlled by Cubans. And even the profits accruing to the Cuban sugar barons did not remain

in Cuba: most of the return was banked or invested abroad.

The same conditions applied with respect to the great cattle ranches, to the nation's mineral wealth (90 per cent in American hands), to its oil (owned entirely by British and American corporations), to its public utilities (80 per cent American-owned).

The importance of such facts cannot be exaggerated. They are the essence of economic colonialism, which requires neither a Colonial Office nor a colonial army to maintain itself when native politicians gladly serve as overseers at lower wages.

At bottom, economic colonialism has its basis in the same circumstance as feudalism: the monopoly control of a nation's wealth, in the one instance by foreigners, in the other by an oligarchy of one's own wealthy and powerful countrymen.

CUBA suffered from the two afflictions at once. Until the agrarian reform, fewer than 8 per cent of the property holdings in Cuba accounted for nearly 75 per cent of all cultivated land. That is to say, three-quarters of the agricultural resources of an agricultural country the size of England, and with a population half again that of Ireland, was in the hands of a few dozen wealthy Cuban families and giant U.S.-owned sugar and cattle corporations.

The social consequences of such a maldistribution of wealth are obvious enough. Cuba's illiteracy rate was one of the highest in the hemisphere, 33.5 per cent. A million Cuban women and children had never worn shoes. Half a million *campesinos* had never tasted milk, or meat. More than a million had never had even the most rudimentary medical care. Thousands of *guajiros* in the Sierra Maestra were as isolated from the rest of the nation as though they lived on an island in the Pacific, without roads, communications, or any contact with the outside world.

Where was the sound economy, the prosperous nation, of which Batista's American public-relations agents used to boast? The sugar corporations were prosperous. The great cattle ranchers were prosperous. But who was paying the bill?

Felipe Pazos, one of the prominent

bankers of the anti-Batista movement, has said that graft on public works alone during seven years of the Batista administration came close to \$500 million on a total public-works budget of less than \$800 million. Cost estimates were customarily doubled, and the rake-off apportioned among the thieves. Such practices extended into every aspect of the nation's economic life. A report written by Robert Alden in *The New York Times* of January 5, 1958, described "the agent of the government, the man with the outstretched palm who is the key figure in the large-scale corruption in Cuba":

The owner of a small food store says: "I pay \$2 to the 'collector' every time I pull the shutter of my shop in the morning. I pay \$2 when I pull it down at night."

The taxicab driver pays the "collector" \$1 for the right to stay at his taxi stand for three hours, and, depending on their volume of business, a precise scale of payment is exacted from each of thousands of street vendors.

In February, 1958, it was estimated that nearly 27,000 Cubans lived on the proceeds of gambling; 11,500 lived by or on prostitution; 5,000 lived by begging (Report of the Cuban National Council of Economy, 1958). The "collector" extracted tribute from them all.

The money lost on the Havana gaming tables by American tourists lined Batista's pockets and those of American gangsters in Las Vegas, Cleveland and New York. Corporation taxes were low, for the benefit of foreign investors, and the Cuban *latifundistas* paid more in bribes than in taxes. The tax on an annual income of \$1,000,000 never exceeded 10 per cent, and even this was seldom paid. But the middle classes groaned under taxation, and the working classes sweated to pay for imported rice, beans and canned goods; the United States enjoyed a trade with Cuba which ran to more than \$10 million a month in its own favor.

Of the total Cuban labor force of 2,204,000, some 361,000 persons were wholly unemployed throughout 1957; 150,000 were employed only part of the time; 154,000 were en-



gaged in unremunerated labor — e.g., as domestic servants, working for their meals and lodgings. Of 1,539,000 Cubans gainfully employed, 954,000 earned less than \$75 a month in a nation where the peso was on a par with the dollar and had even less purchasing power in Havana than in New York.

The nation's free gold and dollar reserves, depleted by assaults on the Treasury and an unfavorable trade balance with the United States, were down to \$110,000 by the end of December, 1958. The incoming government was faced with a current deficit of more than \$50 million and a national indebtedness of close to \$1.5 billion.

The revolutionary Provisional Government, coming to power in January, abolished the worst of the abuses of the Batista regime at a single stroke:

¶Thousands of government sine-

cures were eliminated, along with the subsidies which had been paid, for political reasons, to most Cuban newspapers and to many Cuban journalists.

¶A ministry for the recovery of stolen property set to work to recover millions of dollars in cash and more millions in property illegally acquired under past regimes. Scores of contractors who had accepted "kickbacks" on public-works contracts were forced to disgorge their illicit gains, and the estates of former government officials, acquired dishonestly, were confiscated by the state.

¶Home and apartment rentals were reduced 30 to 50 per cent, bringing dwelling rentals to what were considered more reasonable levels and at the same time injecting a considerable amount of fresh capital into the economy at the consumer level. The effect was much the same for Cuban wage earners as though they had received a sizable increase in pay, and the benefits were immediately felt, also, by thousands of retail merchants.

¶Mortgage rates were reduced in order to provide relief for the smaller landlords.

¶Under a Cabinet decree, owners of idle property in urban areas were compelled to build on their vacant lots, or to put them up for sale to builders, in an effort to create employment, to end real estate speculation and to provide desperately needed urban space for industrial development.

¶Tax laws were revised to reduce the number of different taxes by about two-thirds and to provide a more equitable distribution of the tax load. Collections were rigorously enforced, and thousands of tax-dodgers now found themselves paying not only current but past taxes, which they had thought to evade. (Of 30,000 members of Havana's twelve most exclusive clubs, it was found that only 6,000 had ever even filed tax returns.)

Although there was some grumbling, principally among landlords whose rentals were reduced, the reaction to the first reforms of the new government was generally favorable. The business classes had

asked for honest government, and they discovered that they were getting it "for almost the first time," said *The New York Times* correspondent Herbert Matthews, "since Columbus discovered the island."

It quickly became evident, however, that the provisional government had no intention of stopping at this point.

The big U.S.-owned utility companies were next to feel the effects of reform. Government interventors were installed to oversee the affairs of the *Compañía Cubana de Electricidad*, a \$300,000,000 subsidiary of the American & Foreign Power Corporation, supplying 90 per cent of Cuba's electrical power. After an inspection of the books, the company was ordered to extend its rural service and to reduce its rates by 30 per cent.

The books of the Cuban Telephone Company, a subsidiary of International Telephone & Telegraph, representing a \$115,000,000 investment, were also examined. Rate increases which had been granted by the Batista government were abolished, and the company was ordered to improve its notoriously inadequate and inefficient service.

The government had already armed itself with authority to impose controls on currency and imports, to halt the flight of Cuban capital and to restore a lopsided balance of payments. Within the first few months of the new administration, imports were reduced by more than 30 per cent, the curbs being applied primarily to non-essential goods—e.g., bottled alcoholic beverages and television sets. Since Cuba had been the world's sixth greatest market for U.S. manufactured and agricultural products, it is not surprising that there should have been repercussions. The worst fears of U.S. investors were confirmed in June, with the promulgation of the Agrarian Reform Law.

THE distribution of idle government land holdings to landless *campesinos* had already begun. *Guajiros* in the Sierra Maestra who had lived for generations on land nominally owned by absentee landlords under ancient Spanish grants had



Revolucion, Havana



also been assured of title to their plots. The next step—under the Agrarian Reform Law—was to invoke the provisions of the Cuban Constitution of 1940 which, although never enforced, had strictly forbidden the holding of *latifundios*, i.e., more than a thousand acres in a single property.

Exceptions were permitted in the new law to allow maximum holdings of 3,316 acres in rice and cattle lands—where it could be demonstrated that such holdings would be in the interest of more efficient production.

Holdings beyond the legal maximums were subject to expropriation, the land so acquired by the state to be distributed among Cuba's 700,000 landless peasants, with preference to be given to the sharecroppers or squatters actually living on the expropriated property. Each family was assured of two *caballerias* (66 $\frac{2}{3}$  acres) gratis, and the privilege of purchasing three additional *caballerias*.

The law forbade the ownership of sugar-cane holdings by mill owners, the purpose being to break up the large monopolies in the interest of the peasants and small cane-growers. Ownership of Cuban land by foreigners, whether acquired by purchase or inheritance, was forbidden, and likewise the ownership of land by stock companies in which foreigners might hold shares.

THE owners were shocked by the compensation offered for the property to be expropriated: twenty-year government bonds bearing 4½ per cent interest. Although they had for many years enjoyed extremely low taxation as the result of minimal assessments, they were now dismayed to learn that expropriation payments would be based on these same evaluations.

The American press was prompt to denounce the agrarian reform as confiscatory. The complaints of the sugar cartel were translated into the language most familiar to the American newspaper-reading public: the land-reform program was a Kremlin-inspired plot to destroy free enterprise. In Washington, there was talk of reducing the Cuban sugar

quota, an idea particularly appealing to the sugar Senators of Louisiana and to those legislators with an interest in Hawaiian and Puerto Rican cane sugar or U.S. beet sugar. (The question comes up for action in the current session of Congress.)

Altogether, nearly two million acres of cane-land owned or controlled by United States interests was marked for expropriation, final action being deferred until after the 1959-1960 *zafra*, or winter harvest, so as not to interfere with sugar production. The first of the big American-owned cattle ranches to be expropriated, the 33,500-acre King ranch in Camaguey, was formally seized by the Agrarian Reform Institute on November 15. The total extent of other American-owned ranches and other holdings marked for expropriation is thought to be about a million acres.

In Havana, the government launched what was viewed as another "shaft" aimed at U.S. business interests: a 5 per cent tax on the value of minerals extracted by mining companies, and a 25 per cent tax on the value of minerals or ores exported from Cuba. A subsequent measure brought the oil deposits of the island under the control of the industrial division of the Agrarian Reform Institute.

When, in November, the Havana government suddenly and without explanation replaced Dr. Felipe Pazos as president of the Cuban National Bank with one of the most radical of the Cuban revolutionary leaders, Dr. Ernesto "Che" Guevara, it was felt that the worst had indeed come to the worst.

IT IS easily possible to trace a rough correspondence between the policy decisions and actions of the revolutionary government and the rise and fall of the decible level of the anti-Castro propaganda campaign in the United States and elsewhere.

The journalistic image of Fidel Castro varied, even during the struggle against Batista, in ratio to the assessment made of his intentions and capabilities in financial and diplomatic quarters. One saw, in succession, the romantic hour-

geois hero (supported by the "best elements" of Cuban society), the potentially dangerous fanatic ("Burn the cane! After Batista we will have a *zafra* of liberty!"), the bearded leader of what Senator Ellender called "a bunch of bandits, burning sugar plantations."

By the end of the first month of *fidelista* control, the international wire services and their clients in the United States were in full cry against the new government, and it was difficult to distinguish the "liberal" journals—which had hitherto viewed Castro with cautious sympathy—from the most reactionary. The burden of the wave of criticism was humanitarian concern for the "victims" of the revolutionary tribunals, but the underlying preoccupation was apparent in speculation as to the probable economic orientation of the new regime.

As early as January—Fidel's first month in power—*U.S. News and World Report*, among other conservative journals, was inquiring as to the possibility of a dictatorship taking shape in Cuba, and it may be significant that, during the same period, Associated Press analyst William Ryan, for one, perceived the clear possibility of U.S. intervention to save Cuba from "chaos."

IN MAY, with the beginning of the "Communist beach head" scare, initiated on television and echoed by the Hearst press, there was renewed talk of intervention, this time to save Cuba not from chaos but from communism. United Press International's vice president, Lyle C. Wilson, speculated that Communists *probably* would "take over" the Cuban government, and predicted that in such a circumstance "the United States would promptly apply force to prevent the Reds from getting a foothold in the island Republic," adding: "The United States wouldn't tolerate communism in our back yard."

The attempts of the Havana government to cope with the increasingly disruptive conspiracies of counter-revolutionary elements both inside and outside of Cuba during the summer and fall of 1959 simply provided more fuel for the anti-

Castro press campaign. The technique employed to discredit the revolutionary leadership is illustrated in the following excerpt from *Newsweek* magazine's edition of November 9:

The revolutionary tribunals are coming back, and so are the firing squads. The mob has shouted its approval of Premier Fidel Castro's plan to arm the peasants and the workers. . . . They are not a bloodthirsty people, these Habaneros who keep crying "To the firing squad!" The trouble is that they've been so brainwashed that whatever Castro says they automatically believe.

Who is trying to brainwash whom — and with what object? To be evaluated properly, the above quotation should be compared with another, published about the same time, from Hearst columnist David Sentner:

*Washington:* The United States must immediately lead a movement by the Organization of American States and the U.N. for the replacement of the Communist-dominated Castro regime in Cuba. Otherwise within six to eight months, many other Latin American nations will follow the Castro pattern and confiscate all American property.

So predicts Dr. Emilio Nuñez Portuondo, former U.N. Security Council President and distinguished Cuban diplomat. . . .

Sentner does not trouble to identify the "distinguished Cuban diplomat" as Batista's former United Nations representative or as the so-called "intellectual leader" of the anti-Castro *batistianos*-in-exile with headquarters in Ciudad Trujillo. However, he does say that the Castro regime has placed "a big death-price" on Nuñez Portuondo's head, and goes on to quote him at length concerning an alleged plot, instigated by Moscow and Peking, to "communize" Cuba.

It is not too difficult to see the relationship between the *Newsweek* article and the Hearst columnist's interview with Nuñez Portuondo. The one, painting a lurid picture of an evil, tyrannical, menacing regime, prepares U.S. public opinion for what the other bluntly proposes: an overt military attack on that same regime in the name of humanity, or

self-defense, or something equally moral.

Thus it would seem that Fidel Castro's apprehensions with regard to the possibility of foreign intervention, dismissed in the American press as mere ranting or evidence of paranoia, could have some basis. And hence the preoccupation in Havana with counter-revolutionary conspiracies, both at home and abroad. The possibility of a successful counter-revolution in Cuba at the present time is so remote as to be non-existent. On the other hand, the existence of a counter-revolutionary force, small but well financed, with a firm base in Santo Domingo, powerful backing in the United States and a manpower pool of former Batista soldiers, policemen and displaced petty officials in Cuba itself, does pose a serious threat to the revolution.

It was, after all, the *fidelistas* themselves who demonstrated how much confusion could be sown, and how much damage done to an economy, by a handful of fanatics.

But this is to discuss the lesser evil. The real danger lies in the use to which the *appearance* of a counter-revolution could be put — if the United States were inclined to intervene in Cuba. A widespread, lasting campaign of terrorism, endangering American lives and property, would most certainly produce a ringing appeal for outside aid, in which Cuban conservatives would join. And although Washington—recalling the world-wide political re-

percussions of its thinly disguised intervention in Guatemala in 1954—would not be anxious to follow the same course again, it is easy to see how Nuñez Portuondo's plan might be adopted, i.e., United States military intervention under the aegis of the Organization of American States.

HOW MUCH of the sound and fury of the U.S. press campaign, with its incessant theme of Communist "infiltration" in the Caribbean, has been justified by the actual developments of the first year of revolutionary government in Cuba?

From the point of view of the great Cuban landowners, the import-export bankers, the sugar cartel, the immediate dollar interests threatened, no doubt *all* of it is justified. From a more liberal, not to say more humane, position, very little indeed.

The picture of a Cuba dominated by Moscow or Peking is not supported by a nose-count of Communists in its government or in the armed forces. Their number is negligible, their influence minimal. Nor do the results of last year's union elections vindicate the notion of significant Communist influence in the ranks of organized labor. In the 500,000-member Sugar Workers Federation, to cite an instance, Communist candidates were elected in only eight of 243 locals. Not a single Communist was elected to the executive board of the Confederation of Cuban Workers.

The revival of the revolutionary tribunals in October was the Castro government's answer to a series of counter-revolutionary threats dating back to August, when an invasion from Santo Domingo was aborted with the capture of a planeload of arms sent by Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo. The civil courts, rubber stamps for the Batista regime, had not yet been sufficiently reorganized to cope with any large number of trials or to dispense the speedy justice which would serve as a deterrent to further insurrection.

Further conflicts of ideology and interest are inevitable. It would be remarkable if a far-reaching social and economic revolution could be achieved in any country without such conflicts.

Fidel Castro is by no means above

### A Chilean View



Uncle Sam: "Each Day That Rumba Looks More Curious."

criticism. He has leaned far too heavily on his own political gifts, his personal influence, his oratorical skill, to solve the pressing problems with which he has been confronted. The result has been an appearance of demagoguery which has alienated many of his erstwhile supporters and awakened deep concern even in the most liberal quarters.

The question remains whether it would have been possible to implement the program which has given the Cuban masses their first glimpse of hope, and the island the first honest government in its history, by less arbitrary, more conventional methods. One concludes, however reluctantly: no.

THE history of half a century of parliamentary procedure and ballot-box representation provides almost overwhelming evidence of the simple fact that political democracy is meaningless without a generous measure of economic democracy. The introduction of the ballot box in Cuba heralded nothing more than an exchange of absentee landlords, Spanish for American, and the rise of a class of scavenging professional politicians whose hire was the loot of a rampant spoils system and whose ultimate effect was to pave the way for the ultimate disaster: Batista. It is certainly not surprising that Fidel Castro considers a public-opinion poll or a show of hands in the park in front of the Presidential palace a relatively satisfactory substitute for national elections. Nor is it surprising that the great mass of the people in Cuba today show little interest in the subject.

The Cuban conservatives who are presently calling for elections are precisely those individuals who have had the most experience at manipulating the electoral process for their own private ends. It is most improbable that any candidate opposed to the *fidelista* program, or not endorsed by the revolutionary movement, could win an election in Cuba at this time. But there is no doubt, either, that an election campaign would serve as a sounding board for the spokesmen of powerful reactionary interests, would sow confusion and help to revive a counter-revo-

lutionary effort not yet fully under control. It would profoundly dishearten the Cuban man in the street who has learned through half a century to equate the ballot box with the pistol, the dishonest peso, and the privileged few who have been the exponents, practitioners and principal beneficiaries of Cuban elections.

CERTAINLY a great deal is at stake for the Cuban people. The organization of some 500 agricultural cooperatives, the construction of hundreds of schools, hospitals and low-cost housing units, early evidence of a new economic independence signaled by increasing production of rice and other staples, all indicate how great the stake really is.

For the United States, too, the stake is high, regardless of how such questions as the matter of compensation for expropriated U.S. properties are worked out. Cuba is the focal point of a manifestation that seems certain to spread farther in the hemisphere, and the United States can hardly afford to be indifferent. To cite a relevant passage by Herbert Matthews in *The New York Times*:

About one-quarter of all our exports go to Latin America and one-third of our imports come from the area. United States private investments in Latin America now reach the amazing total of about \$9.5 billion. . . . At every point it has to be said: "If we did not have Latin America on our side, our situation would be desperate. To be denied the products and markets of Latin America would reduce the United States to being a second-rate nation and cause a devastating reduction in our standard of living. . . . Latin American raw materials are essential to our existence as a world power. A friendly Latin America is necessary to our military security."

Apparently this, and not the mere dollar investment in Cuba, big as it may be, is the heart of the matter. The question remaining is—what to do about it?

It was the end of World War II that marked the close of the colonial period and the beginning of a wave of profound political, social and economic change throughout the world. In every instance, the essential

drives are the same: for independence, self-determination, economic emancipation, social justice.

In the underdeveloped agricultural nations—and that defines most, if not all, of the American republics—the essential first step toward freedom is: agrarian reform. To withhold that is to withhold everything. To attempt to defend a dying feudalism is to face not the risk, but the certainty, sooner or later, of losing—everything.

"Whether history will record Cuba's Fidel Castro as an earnest patriot or a fellow-traveling adventurer," writes our former ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, "is anybody's guess. But one fact is already clear. His land-reform program . . . is indubitably in line with Latin American sentiment."

It is perhaps natural that the powerful interests threatened by social and economic change in Cuba and elsewhere should try to stem the tide. But it is not well-advised, and it would be a pity if their influence were to prevail in Washington.

Talk of punishing Cuba by cutting the sugar quota is nonsense. Cuba is not merely the world's major sugar producer, but virtually the *only* sugar-producing country that does not consume the bulk of what it produces. Cuban sugar supplies the need of the entire eastern third of the United States, and it is a vital supply, price-supported not merely because it is in large measure U.S.-owned, but because it is indispensable, as has been demonstrated in two world wars. To threaten economic sanctions against the Cuban government is to invite retaliation; e.g., Cuba could easily double its sugar production and dump a vast and ruinous surplus on the world market in defiance of all existing marketing agreements.

FIDEL CASTRO remains as much the symbol of revolution—and of hope—in Latin America at large as he was for Cuba during the long struggle in the mountains of Oriente. The same forces that produced the Cuban revolution are at play throughout the hemisphere; the same aspirations that kindled the imagination of the *guajiros* of the

Sierra Maestra and the bank clerks of Havana in 1957 is stirring in the hearts of the cane cutters of Santo Domingo and the bank clerks of Lima in 1960. There is no doubt that the Cuban revolution has accelerated the revolutionary process greatly, and perhaps has given it a shape that it never had before. It was no coincidence, but a warning, that Panamanian rioters storming into the Panama Canal Zone in December should have adopted "Viva Fidel Castro!" as their battle cry.

Former Ambassador Bowles, urging a realistic compromise with the inevitable, advises:

We can adjust ourselves in advance to the certainty that reason will not always prevail, that injustices will almost surely occur, and that the short-term price paid for long-term stability will often appear exorbitant.

Above all, let us not lose sight of the essential issue. The real choice in Latin America, as in Asia and Africa, is citizenship or serfdom, hope

or despair, orderly political growth or bloody upheaval. Our failure to understand this choice, or to support the vital new elements which are striving to assert leadership, would be catastrophic.

What Bowles has to say is worth considering. The Congress, preparing to set the new sugar quota, might well think it over, and so might the State Department, before proceeding to implement the "firmer policy" toward Cuba that was announced only last week.

## REGISTRARS: Key to Negro Voting... by Kenneth N. Vines

THE CIVIL RIGHTS debate in this session of Congress is likely to be dominated by a single issue: whether or not federal registrars should supplant state registrars where it can be shown that Negroes are systematically barred from voting.

To all practical purposes, of course, the issue is strictly a Southern one. Voting registrars were originally created in the nineteenth century as a means of keeping down election frauds; today, every state in the union except Arkansas and Texas — the "poll tax" states — maintains a registration system. Southern use of the registrar to bar Negro voters became widespread only after World War II; before that time, few Southern Negroes ever attempted to exercise the franchise.

In all states, registration is administered either by a registrar, or a board of registrars, appointed by the governor or by a special state registration board. Appointments are usually made upon the advice of the local political "machine" from the ranks of the political "eligibles" of the county (or, as in the case of Louisiana, the parish). As a purely "local" representative, then, the reg-

istrar is regarded — and regards himself — as a delegate of local interests rather than an impartial administrator of state or federal law.

To put the matter plainly, most registrars perform precisely the way the local courthouse "gang" — the county officials, including the sheriff, the court clerk and the assessor — wants them to act. In some instances, the "gang" finds the Negro vote to be politically useful, and has actually stood guard at the registrar's office to make certain that no potentially valuable voter was turned away. In multi-cultural areas such as Atlanta, New Orleans and Miami, and in other Southern areas where there are few Negroes, the main hindrance to Negro registration has not been the registrar, but the Negro's own apathy. But in many counties of the deep South with large Negro populations, the registrar cooperates with other members of the "gang" to keep the voting registers "lily white." When paternalistic pressure does not work, outright violence or the overt threat of violence does — as shown by recent complaints to the federal Civil Rights Commission from Georgia's Terrell County. Today there are thirty counties in the deep South with not a single Negro registered.

SOMETIMES a registrar is caught between opposing pressures. Last year, the White Citizens Councils of Louisiana began a systematic

campaign of "education" and coercion of parish registrars to get them to purge Negroes from the voting lists. Council members appeared at registrars' offices in teams, prepared to challenge Negro registration en masse; State Senator Rainach, president of the Citizens Councils, and at the time a candidate for governor, traveled about the state advising registrars on methods for turning away Negro applicants. In most northern Louisiana parishes, the campaign was eminently successful; in other parishes, it failed. In Winn Parish — home parish of the Longs, where Negro voters traditionally supported the Long dynasty — the woman registrar refused to permit mass challenges. And in Saint Landry Parish, where the Citizens Councils were comparatively weak and the sheriff depended partly upon the Negro vote, the campaign also came a cropper. [In Washington Parish, where the Citizens Council campaign had succeeded, a federal court last week ordered 1,377 Negroes reinstated on the voting lists. — Ed.]

The registrar who resists the dominant community pressure — whether it comes from the "gang," the Citizens Councils or other source — and remains in office is rare indeed. The story of Mrs. Winnie Clement, registrar of Webster Parish, Louisiana, in 1956, is a case in point. Faced with demands that she require Negroes to interpret the state constitu-

*KENNETH N. VINES teaches political science at Tulane University (New Orleans), and is consultant for the Southern Regional Council's studies on Negro registration and voting in the South.*

January 23, 1960

F B I

Date: 2/23/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson

Mr. Mohr

Mr. DeLoach

Mr. Casper

Mr. Callahan

Mr. Conrad

Mr. Felt

Mr. Gale

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Sullivan

Mr. Tavel

Mr. Trotter

Tele. Room

Mr. Holmes

Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, WFO (97-1017)

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBA

[REDACTED]

The attached memorandum is classified "Secret" due to the sensitive nature of the source. In the event of downgrading, it should be classified "Confidential" since it involves [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and the information could result in the identification of an informant of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

3 - Bureau (Encls. 9)

2 - WFO

(1 - [REDACTED])

HJM/mjb  
(5)

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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

AIRTEL

REC-54

109-12-210-1359

MAR 22 1960

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~~SECRET~~

Approved: 62 MAR 25 1960 Agent in Charge

M Per

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

- 1 - Belmont  
 - 1 - Donahoe  
 - 1 - Parsons  
 - 1 - Mohr  
 - 1 - DeLoach  
 - 1 - Liaison

1 letter

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : A. H. Belmont

DATE: March 11, 1960

FROM : S. B. Donahoe

~~SECRET~~

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CUBA

b7C

[REDACTED]

It is believed this information would be of interest to Vice President, Attorney General, State, Central Intelligence Agency, and military intelligence agencies.

ACTION:

Attached are letters to Vice President Nixon, Attorney General, and State Department (with copies for Central Intelligence Agency and military agencies) enclosing copies of letterhead memorandum setting out list of journalists favorably regarded by Cubans together with pertinent data from Bufiles. It is being pointed out that data from our files does not represent complete background information on individuals concerned. It is felt proper to include this statement in view of the inclusion on the list of such individuals as Walter Lippman and other reporters who are apparently reputable individuals.

Enclosures

109-12-210

RDC:jlw  
(9)

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 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

REC-54

109-12-210-1360

15 MAR 22 1960

CLASSIFIED BY 7-18-0  
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

~~SECRET~~

62 MAR 25 1960



Director, FBI (109-584)

3/24/60

SAC, Buffalo (109-6)

ANTI-FIDEL CASTRO ACTIVITIES  
IS - CUBA

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBA

Re: 1/10/60.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and interested offices are appropriate copies of a letterhead memorandum setting forth the results of a recent visit by [REDACTED] with this office on 3/10/60. [REDACTED] will be contacted upon his return to Rochester, N. Y.

b7C

- P.  
4 - Bureau (Encls. 12) (RM)  
    (1 - 109-12-210)  
2 - Miami (105-1747) (Encls. 2) (RM)  
    (1 - 105-1742)  
2 - New York (105-35253) (Encls. 2) (RM)  
    (1 - 109-112)  
1 - Buffalo  
MHT:pan  
(9)

109-12-210  
NOT RECORDED  
170 MAR 29 1960

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DATE 7/8/03 BY 60290 BEE/KCP/K

59 MAR 30 1960

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 109-12-210





In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

400 U. S. Court House  
Buffalo 2, New York  
March 24, 1960

ANTI-FIDEL CASTRO ACTIVITIES  
FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

On March 10, 1960, [REDACTED],  
Bachman Wholesale Company, 1073 Clinton Avenue North, Rochester,  
New York, contacted the Rochester Resident Agency, Federal  
Bureau of Investigation and advised that he had just  
determined from old correspondence in his possession that  
the Hunter Hawkers which he had referred to on March 9,  
1960 were owned by the British Government and located in  
England. [REDACTED] said that apparently the British  
Government is unwilling to release the airplanes, hence  
no sale has taken place. [REDACTED] said he had no  
further information.

b7c

This is loaned to you by the FBI, and neither it  
nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency  
to which loaned.

109-12-210-

XXXXXX  
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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F B I

Date: 3/19/60

REC-44

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

~~SECRET~~

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Evans	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, WFO (97-1017)

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBAThe attached memo is classified "Confidential,"  
since it involves \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ and the information could result  
in the identification of an informant of continuing value  
and compromise future effectiveness thereof. (S)

③ - Bureau (Enc. 9)

2 - WFO

(1 - \_\_\_\_\_)

HJM:pep

(5)

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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X-1-      

7-18-03

ENCLOSURE

AGENCY 1cc Bureau; State; CIA;  
 REC-REC'D 5-2-60  
 DATE FORW. 5-2-60  
 HOW FORW. ELC  
 BY TEG: rcs

REC-44

C. C. Wick

~~SECRET~~Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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109 - HQ - 12 - 210 - 1361 enclosure page 1

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

The "Diplomatic List," published by the United States Department of State in December, 1959, reveals that Captain Angel L. Saavedra was at that time the Cuban Military and Air Attache.

DECLASSIFIED BY *Amc 60290 BEE/KAJ/K*  
ON *7/18/03*

~~CLASSIFIED BY~~  
~~DECLASSIFY ON: 25X~~

*109-12-210-1361*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

DATE: 3/15/60

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (109-112)

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS-CUBA  
IS-CUBA

The following information was disseminated locally by the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Unit, U.S. Treasury Department:

This agency received information from an informant on 2/29/60 that 15,000 men are presently in training at Corumel (ph), Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico for an invasion of Cuba. This source also advised that he had heard "big business" was supplying the money for training and equipping these men.

No further details were available.

Since this matter was received from another government agency, it was not put in a form suitable for dissemination. If additional information is received, the Bureau will be advised.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 6-6-85 BY SP6 BJA/TAR

3-Bureau (109-12-210) RM  
(1-Legat, Mexico)  
1-New York (109-112)

#209,861

EX-105

REC-28

109-12-210-1362

18 MAR 10 1960

JJC:EG  
(4)

34 MAR 25 1960

NAT. INT. SEC.

EXP. PROC.  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 109-12-210-584-1

3/17/60

~~SECRET~~

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-432323)  
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-37151)

BM - X  
(OO:WFO)

71853  
CLASSIFIED BY 60290 BCE/TCG  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1

b7C

Attached are 10 copies of a letterhead memo dated and captioned as above with accompanying evaluation memo.

informant is [redacted] informant is [redacted] who furnished the information to SA [redacted]

b1  
b2  
(S) b7C  
D

The attached letterhead memo is classified "confidential" since it contains information from confidential informants, [redacted] which could result in identification of these informants and jeopardize future effectiveness thereof. It is further classified "confidential" since it involves [redacted]

(S) b1  
b2

4-Bureau (Encls.-10)  
(1-109-12-210) (FPM-Cuba)

3-WFO  
(1- [redacted])  
(1-97-1017) (FPM-Cuba)

HJM:mew  
(7)

AIRTEL

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109-12-210-

NOT RECORDED  
174 MAR 29 1960

59 MAR 31 1960

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 27, 1968

CLASSIFIED BY Am 60248 BCE/NAJPK  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
7-18-03

~~SECRET~~

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

109-12-210-

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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109-HQ-12-210, unrecorded document dated 3/17/1960,  
enclosure pages 2 and 3

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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201

~~SECRET~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 17, 1960

[REDACTED]

b7C

With reference to the memorandum dated and captioned as above, [REDACTED] informants therein have all furnished reliable information in the past.

b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-18-83 BY [REDACTED]

109-12-210-80290 BCE/1CC/PK

109-12-210-

ENCLOSURE

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

FROM : Mr. S. B. Donahoe

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBA

1 - Belmont  
1 - Donahoe  
1 - W. C. Sullivan  
1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]  
DECLASSIFY ON [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] at Fairleigh Dickinson College who held position in Tito's government until he became fed up in 1946, visited Cuba during January, 1960. He has detailed the influence Yugoslavia is exerting on Cuban regime and, in conjunction with [REDACTED] former high-ranking official under Batista, has recommended course of action for U. S. in dealing with Castro. [REDACTED] served as confidential source of NYO until 1954 and has been reliable.

On 2/13/60 and 2/20/60 [REDACTED] furnished NYO his analysis of Cuban situation based on the visit to Cuba where he contacted representatives of anticommunist organization which has headquarters in Paris. He quotes [REDACTED] at Havana University, as stating U. S. completely failed to make proper evaluation of Cuban situation and that this failure must be attributed to U. S. Embassy, Havana, and/or Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

[REDACTED] noted the parallel between Castro's assumption of power and taking over of Yugoslavia by Tito. He pointed out that Tito came down from the mountains to his country's capital, took over the government, initially obtained support and confidence of the people by assuring the government would be socialistic but not all-powerful, and then turned it completely communist. He made the following additional observations: (1) If Castro continues to be subjected to Soviet, Yugoslav and Communist China influences, Cuban people will soon realize their's is first communist country in Western Hemisphere. (2) The crude and blunt anti-United States propaganda from Cuba closely resembles that of Tito's during 1944-1945. (3) Strengthening of Cuban Army is definite plan to further Castro's control of entire populace and an estimated six Cuban provinces are already under complete control of the army with governors having absolutely no power. (4) The three independent Cuban newspapers cannot take a strong stand against Castro if they are to protect their investments and mention of free elections promptly labels an individual a "counterrevolutionary." (5) [REDACTED] former high-ranking Yugoslav intelligence official, was in Cuba past several months where he has worked closely with Cuban officials concerning economic, military, political and trade negotiation matters. [REDACTED] influenced the agrarian reform program which is communist in makeup.

109-12-210

1 - 109-12272 (Foreign Political Matters-Yugoslavia)

Encs

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

RAM:praf

DECLASSIFIED BY

SECRET

6 MAR 23 1960

NAT. INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 109-12-210

b7C

b7C

b7C

109-12-210-1363

61 MAR 30 1960

Memo Donahoe to Belmont

Re: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

109-12-210

~~SECRET~~

In addition to describing Raul Castro, "Che" Guevara, Antonio Munez Jimenez, head of agrarian reform program, and Minister of Education Armando Hart as communists, [redacted] said Foreign Minister Raul Roa is also considered a "crypto-communist" by Cuban anticommunists. He said Roa is close to Yugoslav Secretary of State Koca Popovic and made statement that Yugoslavia enjoys more freedom than any country in the world upon his recent return from there. [redacted] described [redacted] as one of best-informed persons in Cuba concerning communist activities in Latin America and, in conjunction with [redacted], has recommended the following action by U. S. in dealing with Cuba:

(1) The U. S. should take immediate steps to prevent Castro from developing further strength. No direct action in Cuba should be taken but support should be given other Latin-American countries and, through them, influence should be exerted on Cuba to either remove Castro or convince Castro that he cannot trust communists. (2) We should consider advisability of exerting influence on various religious groups, particularly the Catholic Church, in other Latin-American countries. These religious groups would be asked to step up their interest in the Cuban situation and to alert Cubans to dangers of communism. (3) U. S. could take immediate positive action by financing more factual news broadcasts to Cuba from other Latin-American countries as well as from U. S. This would counteract present lack of truthful and accurate news reports being carried in Cuba. (4) Through well-established and privately financed foundations, U. S. could arrange to have individuals traveling to Cuba under guise of tourists alert Cubans to dangers of allowing communists to influence Cuban Government.

ACTION:

This information is being furnished to State, CIA, and the military agencies. Since it shows that Castro is under the influence of still another Iron Curtain country, attached are letters to Vice President Nixon and the Attorney General containing summaries of the data.

SEB/PM  
Oscar

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ST

EF

Rom

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 3/21/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (109-112)

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBA

Enclosed herewith for the information of the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum, setting forth information concerning above captioned matter and 11 copies of a reliability memorandum, setting forth the reliability of the informant used.

[REDACTED] (S) b1

[REDACTED] (S) b1

The files of the NYO contained no information identifiable with [REDACTED]. b7C

- 3 - Bureau (109-12-210) (Encls. 22) (RM)
- 1 - Miami (105-1747) (Encls. 2) (RM) (S) (U) 7-3-03
- 1 - Washington Field (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York [REDACTED] (Inv.)
- 1 - New York (109-112) (S) (U)

FJO:ad  
(8)

100(w)/[REDACTED] Havana, Havana

AGENCY 100-100000-2-01A;

REQ-REQ-0 100-100000-2-01A;

DATE FORW. 3-23-60

HOW FORW. RIS

BY FE 2: 200

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

REC-27 109-12-210-1364

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET3

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of \_\_\_\_\_

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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

109-HQ-12-210-1364, enclosure pages 1, 2, and 3

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
March 21, 1960

Re: Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

Reference is made to the New York memorandum dated and captioned as above.

[REDACTED], mentioned in referenced memorandum, is an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past.

b2  
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is a loan to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 12/13 BY 60290 BCE/10072K

109-12-210-1367  
ENCLOSURE



FBI

Date: 3/17/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

EXCEPT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (109-112)  
 SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned as above. One copy is being furnished the Miami Office for information.

[REDACTED] S

[REDACTED] S

[REDACTED] S

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified confidential in view of the highly confidential and sensitive nature of the source whose identity if known would compromise the future effectiveness of the source.

Information from this source if used in a report must be most carefully paraphrased in order to protect the source. Under no circumstances should any unauthorized person be allowed to have knowledge of the information furnished by the source.

CLASSIFIED BY Amc 60290 BCE/TCR/RK  
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X +

- 3 - Bureau (109-12-210) (Encls. 5) (RM)  
 1 - Miami (105-1747) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)  
 1 - New York (109-112)

LAB:mad  
 (6)

AGENCY cc:mad: Staff  
 REQ. REC'D CIA  
 DATE FORW. 7-24-60  
 HOW FORW. RIS  
 BY FED:mad

REC-87 / 109-12-210-1365

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

SECRET

b7C

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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109-HQ-12-210-1365, enclosure

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: March 22, 1960

FROM : F. A. FROHBOSE

1-Parsons  
1-Belmont  
1-Liaison  
1-Papich

SUBJECT: CUBAN POLITICAL SITUATION

MATTER

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

## ACTION:

Liaison will follow this matter very closely and will report particulars. This information is extremely sensitive and should be accordingly handled by the Bureau. Under no circumstances should any dissemination be made outside the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HERE IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

SJP:sal (5)

REC- 68

109-12-210-1366

13 MAR 25 1960

CLASSIFIED BY 304808/pt  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

50 MAR 31 1960

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b7C

~~SECRET~~

10:04 AM

March 23, 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON  
MR. PARSONS  
MR. BELMONT  
MR. DELOACH

93749

While talking to the Attorney General on another matter I mentioned there was one thing I felt should be given consideration concerning the Cuban situation. I stated this government has done a lot of high altitude surveys of Russia, making photographs, and has been very successful, and I felt there should be some thought given to having the same thing done in Cuba as there are all kinds of rumors of missile bases and submarine bases being located there and we could not find out the truth of these rumors by running around on foot, but can by taking photographs at high altitude, and I believed this should be implemented in Cuba. The Attorney General was advised that while talking to our Legal Attache assigned to Cuba I had learned that many Chinese, Russian and Yugoslavian communists are there, and there are many rumors concerning these bases and I was afraid no one had given thought to having aerial surveys in high altitude made in Cuba. The Attorney General asked me to prepare a letter for him to send to Allen Dulles suggesting that consideration be given to doing this.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-31-03 BY *auc 6010 b/c*

*Kay*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

cc-Mr. Ingram

JSH:EH (8)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SENT FROM D. O.  
TIME \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE \_\_\_\_\_  
BY \_\_\_\_\_

REC-31 109-12-210-1367

24 MAR 25 1960

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

67 MAR 28 1960

F B I

Date: 3/22/60

REC-28

Transmit the following in SECRET  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, WFO (97-1017)

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS-CUBA  
IS-CUBAALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

[REDACTED] (S) b7C

The attached memo is classified "Secret" due to the sensitive nature of the source. In the event of downgrading, it should be classified "Confidential" since it involves [REDACTED] (S) b1

[REDACTED] and the info could result in the identification of an informant of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof. (S) b1

7- ENCL. 3  
3-Bureau (Enc. 9)  
2-WFO  
[REDACTED] (S)

HJM:eap  
(5)

7-3103  
CLASSIFIED BY am 60290 BCC/TCC/PAK  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1 b1

109-12-210-1368

MAR 24 1960

1cc (w/enc) Havana, Bonn, Tokyo  
AGENCY 1cc encl: CIA, OSI,  
REG-REGD ONI, G-2  
DATE FORW. 3-23-60  
HOW FORW. RLS  
BY [REDACTED]

C C - Wick

AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~Approved: James H. Gale

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

59 MAR 30 1960

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
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## Section 552

**Section 552a**

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□ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

□ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

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**□ (k)(4)**

☐ (b)(4)

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☐ (b)(6)

□ (k)(7)

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Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of

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109-HQ-12-210-1368 enclosure

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X   for this page     X
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DECODED COPY

☐ Airgram

☒ Cablegram

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT 3-21-60

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT, HAVANA NO. 87

[REDACTED]

RECEIVED:

3-21-60

1:47 PM

CTF

73/03  
 CLASSIFIED BY 73/03  
 DECLASSIFY ON: 25X  
 EX-130  
 Bca/700/700

REC-88

109-12-210-1369

MAR 25 1960

ORIG: MR. PARSONS FOR DIRECTOR  
 CC: MR. BELMONT  
 CC: MR. FROHBOSE

FOR INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~SECRET~~

53 MAR 30 1960

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

F B I

Date: 3/22/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (109-112)

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBA

Enclosed herewith are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum setting forth information concerning above-captioned matter, and 11 copies of a reliability memorandum setting forth the reliability of the informant used.

\_\_\_\_\_, mentioned in enclosed memorandum, is

\_\_\_\_\_

b2  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/83 BY am 60290 BCE/KCJ/DK

- 3 - Bureau (109-12-210) (Encls. 22) (RM)  
1 - Miami (105-1747) (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)  
1 - WFO (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)  
1 - NY 109-112

REC-88

109-12-210-1370

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NAT. INT. SEC.

51 Approved: 72  
MAR 28 1960 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
March 22, 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/03 BY *60290 BCL/TCL/PR*

Re: Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

**[REDACTED]** an individual who is associated with an American company having interests in Cuba, advised by letter of March 17, 1960, that he had been informed that a plenary meeting of sugar syndicates of Havana Province had been held at Central Gomez Mena on March 13, 1960, and that the following points of interest were made by Conrado Becquer, who is Secretary of the Sugar Workers Union: *Cuba*

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a) Sugar workers should stand firm in the face of aggression from abroad sponsored by large foreign economic interests and Batista's criminals who are harbored and paid for by these interests.

b) The United States Government knows that any cut in the Cuban sugar quota will be a flagrant act of economic aggression, and that the United States public opinion is not clear on this matter. Becquer stated that the United States Department of State, pressured by large United States economic interests, sponsors a law which puts more than 200,000 tons out of the Cuban sugar quota and in doing, would subject the amount of the Cuban quota to the United States executive power. On the other hand, Becquer said there is a constructive attitude taken by the Chairman of the House Agricultural Committee, who desires to maintain the sugar act for another year, during which some of the misunderstanding between Cuba and the United States can be smoothed over.

**[REDACTED]** stated that a newspaper article in Havana stated that the Revolutionary Government had done a

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ENCLOSURE

109-12-210-1370

Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

magnificent job in improving living conditions and raising the salary of sugar workers throughout the Island, and that if the Revolutionary Government could raise the standards of living and salaries more, they would do so in order to restore the economy of the country to a sound basis. This news article stated that the sugar workers of Cuba desired to inform the Revolutionary Government that it is necessary to contribute with a larger amount of their salaries to the restoration of the national economy, and that they are not only willing to freeze their salary at the present level, but could call for a substantial reduction in them and contribute the difference to the Revolutionary Government for the industrialization and defense of Cuba.

██████████ stated that the CTC (Confederation of Cuban Workers) made a public statement recently protesting the bad treatment to which Cuban workers are subject by the United States Naval Base at Guantanamo.

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██████████ stated further that he had been advised from Havana that public contributions from all over Cuba for the purchase of new arms to defend Cuba continue to come in constantly and it is estimated that new records will be broken in contributions, not only in cash, but in silver and in gold objects. ██████████ stated that it was also related in Havana that a true Cuban citizen must prove himself by two things: work and handling of a rifle.

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██████████ stated that it was also related from Havana that reactionary interests, who have governed Cuba either directly or indirectly for the first 50 years of its history, do not stand a chance of returning to power. The news in Havana states that the people within Cuba will fight together with the rebel army

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## Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

against any group of mercenaries or professionals who might attempt to attack Cuba in order to restore those individuals who previously were connected with former governments. It was pointed out in news articles that it is for this reason that the people, students and workers have to be prepared for a long struggle and have to be disposed to defend the revolution with their intense work and intense training in handling weapons.

██████████ stated that another news item, which had been related to him from Cuba, stated that the Revolutionary Government is only destroying in Cuba what has kept that country in a colonial status for 50 years, and to rebuild in its place, a revolutionary economy where the people have a deciding vote. It was further stated that Cuba could not harm anyone, but it would be good if foreign economic interests recognize the fact that Cuba certainly can defend itself against any type of aggression from abroad. It was also reported that the example set by Cuba will be followed throughout Latin America, where exploiting interests have had control for so long a time. In order to accomplish quickly the plans outlined by the Revolutionary Government, the people of Cuba were told that they must realize that their austerity is necessary, and that the more they saved, the faster the Cuban economy would be rebuilt on the basis outlined by the Revolutionary Government, which states that the people are the important and only beneficiary.

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██████████ stated that the government newspaper "Revolucion" published the story that Centrales Los Canos, Soledad G. and Isabel G., of the Guantanamo Sugar Company, had been intervened and will be managed by INRA (The Agrarian Reform). The value of

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Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

these mills and the properties connected with them are estimated to be approximately ten million pesos. It was also reported that the Guantanamo Railroad had also been intervened, and that this would also be managed by INRA.

██████████ stated that he was also told from Havana that Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos, President, stated that Cuba was being made the victim of the most terrible criminal and international aggression in the history of the world. Dorticos stated that international economic groups are uniting all over the world in order to damage Cuba with economic aggression and dampen the revolutionary spirit of the Cuban people. Dorticos was also reported as praising the efforts of the Cuban labor groups in obtaining new contributions for the purchase of arms to defend Cuba and also as lauding the Cuban people for delivering silver and gold packages to the Revolutionary Government for the same purpose.

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b7D

██████████ said that on March 16, 1960, he was advised that it was reported in the press in Havana, Cuba, that the Cuban Government had received a note from Washington, D.C., which Washington stated was going to be kept confidential in the United States.

██████████ stated that an Associated Press (AP) dispatch from Washington stated that the Cuban Government was free to publish the note if it so desired. ██████████ stated that he was told that Havana newspapers did not publish the note, and that the government newspaper "Revolucion" only made a very minor mention of the fact that such a note had been received by the Cuban Government.

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██████████ stated that he was told that security officers at "La Cabana Fortress" had discovered a mass

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Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

escape attempt which was in the preparation stage and was to take place in a very short time.

██████████ stated that he was informed that Law 757 was sent to the "Official Gazette" by the Cabinet, which established the "Junta Central De Planificacion". This Junta is connected with the national economy and will be in charge of fixing, orienting, guiding, supervising and coordinating the economic policy of state and self-governing agencies.

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b7D

██████████ stated that he was told that this Board of Economy was formed by the Prime Minister, the President of the National Bank, the Minister of Finance, Minister of Economics, the Minister of Labor, the Minister of Public Works, a delegate from INRA and a delegate of the President of the Republic.

██████████ also stated that other items furnished to him on March 16, 1960, indicated that newspapers in Havana had made front page stories about the United States military maneuvers which began on March 16, 1960, and which will last for two weeks in the Caribbean area. ██████████ further stated that it was reported in the newspaper "Revolucion" that presently Cuba and Venezuela are conferring in order to study the possibility of Cuba selling Venezuela refined sugar and molasses for the purchase from Venezuela of surplus agricultural machinery. It was also stated in this newspaper that there were also possibilities that Cuba might sell cattle and tobacco to that country.

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b7D

██████████ advised that the Assistant Prime Minister of the United Arab Republic (UAR), Zulficar Sabri, who is now visiting in Cuba and the Head of the UAR Goodwill Mission, made a press statement on March 15, 1960,

b2  
b7D

Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

offering full military and economic support of the UAR to Cuba, and stating that Cuba could count on UAR military help in the event of aggression from abroad.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
March 22, 1960

Re: Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

Reference is made to New York memorandum,  
dated and captioned as above.

██████████ mentioned in referenced memorandum,  
is an informant who has furnished reliable information  
in the past.

b2  
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations  
nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.  
It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
and is a loan to your agency; it and its contents are  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-3-03 BY Amc 60290 BCE/RC/PJL

ENCLOSURE

109-12-210-1370

F B I

Date: 3/22/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, WFO (97-1017)

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS-CUBA  
IS-CUBA

[REDACTED] b1

The attached memo is classified "Secret" due to the sensitive nature of the source. In the event of downgrading, it should be classified "Confidential" since it involves

[REDACTED] b1

and the info could result in the identification of an informant of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 9)  
1-New York (Enc. 1) (RM)  
2-WFO  
(1-[REDACTED]) S

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

HJM:eap  
(6)

7-31-03  
CLASSIFIED BY Am 60290BCE/KC/98  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X-1

State (L. 1000) CIA 62-014051  
Immigration (L. 1000) 62-014051  
13-23-60  
BY KEY/ST

REC-31 109-12-210-1371

6 MAR 22 1960

AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~  
13-0376

Approved: James H. Sale

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

31 MAR 31 1960

b7C



XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.

☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of \_\_\_\_\_

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): \_\_\_\_\_

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

109-40-12-210-1371, enclosure

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F B I

Date: 3/23/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. McGuire	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, WFO (97-1017)

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

IS - CUBA

Internal Security

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

[REDACTED] (S)

The attached memo is classified "Confidential" since it involves [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and the information could result in the identification of an informant of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof. (S)

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 9)

2 - WFO

(1 - [REDACTED])

HJM:emc  
(5)

7-31-03  
CLASSIFIED BY Am 60240 BEE/KCA/PK  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X1

State (Linsor) CUB (2, ON 1, 051)  
Hawkins (Linsor)  
3/24/66  
B: [REDACTED]

109-12-210-372  
REC-82 5 MAR 25 1966

AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~Approved: James H. Gale

61 MAR 30 1966 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET**

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

**X** Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available release to you.

## **Section 552**

**Section 552a**

~~(b)(1)~~

□ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

☐ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

□ (j)(2)

□ (b)(3)

□ (b)(7)(C)

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☐ (b)(7)(D)

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□ (b)(7)(E)

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☐ (b)(7)(F)

□ (k)(4)

☐ (b)(4)

☐ (b)(8)

□ (k)(5)

□ (b)(5)

□ (b)(9)

□ (k)(6)

☐ (b)(6)

**□ (k)(7)**

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

\_\_\_\_\_ Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of \_\_\_\_\_

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

109-HQ-12-210-1372, enclosure

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F B I

Date: 3/21/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (109-112)

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBA

Enclosed herewith for the information of the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum, setting forth information concerning above captioned matter and 11 copies of a reliability memorandum, setting forth the reliability of the informant used.

ENCLOSURE  
[REDACTED], mentioned in enclosed memorandum, is

[REDACTED] CUBA

Los Angeles is requested to attempt to identify [REDACTED] telephone number [REDACTED]

- 3 - Bureau (109-12-210) (Encls. 22) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 1 - Miami (105-1747) (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (109-112)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-31-03 BY 60298 BCE/TCC/STK

FJO:ad/c  
(8)

AGENCY State, CIA, E.O. 12958-1  
REQ. Handwritten  
DATE 3-23-66  
HOW Handwritten  
BY Handwritten

REC-19

109-12-210-1373

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

84 MAR 31 1960



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
March 21, 1960

Re: Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

[REDACTED], an individual who is employed by the Esso Standard Oil Company, recently returned from Havana, Cuba, advised on March 15, 1960, that conditions in Cuba continue to deteriorate.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] advised that Esso has two offices in Havana, one of which is their International Office which handles their business in the Caribbean and several South American countries.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] stated that Esso is considering and desired very much to transfer their International Office from Havana to Coral Gables, Florida, because their employees need freedom of movement and in Cuba they do not enjoy such freedom.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] stated that the problem facing Esso regarding the contemplated movement of their International Office to Florida is that they feel that if such a step is initiated by Esso, the Cuban Government will then declare them as acting against the best interests of the revolution and will intervene their properties.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] stated that Esso had recently completed a \$30,000,000.00 refinery and has extended credit to the Cuban Government which now totals approximately \$19,000,000.00.

b2  
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-31-03 BY 60290 BCE/TCG/DR

109-12-210-1373  
CLOSURE

Re: Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

In addition to the above problem, [REDACTED] stated that Esso is also faced with making the decision as to how long they are going to allow their employees and their families to remain in Cuba.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] stated that Esso is, at the present time, seriously considering recalling their employees and their families because they deem the internal situation in Cuba to be extremely precarious and they do not want to endanger the lives of their employees and their families.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] on March 15, 1960, advised that over the weekend of March 12, 1960, an employee of Esso, a Cuban, his wife and two children, came to the United States. The informant stated that this employee of Esso handles [REDACTED] for Esso in Cuba, and he requested a three-month leave of absence in order to be out of Cuba for the next ninety days, as he feels, although he has no specific facts upon which to base this feeling, that serious trouble will break out within this period.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED], partner in [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] who is a [REDACTED] of the Guantanamo Sugar Company, advised on March 16, 1960, that a long distance telephone call had been received at their office on March 15, 1960.

b7C

Re: Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

[redacted] stated that this long distance telephone call was from [redacted] (phonetic) who stated that if a cash deposit was made in Los Angeles by the Guantanamo Sugar Company, it would be arranged that the Cuban Government would not intervene the Guantanamo Sugar Company and that "Guevara's dogs would be called off." >

b7C

NO LOC.

[redacted] stated that this individual, who identified himself as [redacted], stated that if the Guantanamo Sugar Company was interested in this proposition, they should contact one [redacted], by calling telephone number [redacted] or [redacted].

b7C

[redacted] stated that they had no knowledge of who [redacted] or [redacted] were and they had no intention of contacting [redacted] in [redacted].

b7C

[redacted] stated that the number [redacted] might possibly be the call numbers for a car radio.

b7C

Concerning Guevara mentioned above, it is noted that this reference is to Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, President of the National Bank in Cuba.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is a loan to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
March 21, 1960

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Re: Foreign Political Matters - Cuba

Reference is made to the New York memorandum dated and captioned as above.

[REDACTED], mentioned in referenced memorandum, is an individual who is in a position to furnish reliable information.

b2  
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is a loan to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-31-03 BY *mu 68290 BCF/PL/JSK*

109-12-210-1373

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 3/25/60

FROM : *Lot* SAC, MIAMI (105-1747)

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES  
IS - CUBA

Enclosed is self explanatory letterhead memorandum concerning "Alleged Landings in Cuba and Venezuela by Russian Vessels and Submarines" suitable for dissemination. Translations were made by [REDACTED], translator, Miami.

b7c

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 9)(RM)
- 2 - Miami (1 - 105-1747)  
(1 - 105-1905)

JDH:bna  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/03 BY *am 10290 BCF/TC/DR*

ice  
AGENCY *State, CIA, E2, ONI, OSI*  
REQ. *Havana (info)*  
BY *3/24/60*  
BY *F. J. SE*

*cc of letter*

REC-35

*109-12-210-1374*

X-131

7 MAR 28 1960

62 MAR 30 1960



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

MM 105-1747

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/03 BY *am 10090604/1078*

Miami, Florida

MAR 25 1960

ALLEGED LANDINGS IN CUBA AND  
VENEZUELA BY RUSSIAN VESSELS  
AND SUBMARINES

On January 4, 1960, [REDACTED], a  
naturalized Canadian, McAlpin Hotel, 1424 Ocean Drive,  
Miami Beach, Florida, through his attorneys, [REDACTED]  
and [REDACTED] furnished miscellaneous papers and documents in the  
Spanish language which [REDACTED] had purloined from the  
files of the Crusade of the Revolutionaries Against  
Communism (CRAC), an anti-FIDEL CASTRO organization in  
Miami, with which he was formerly associated. b7C

[REDACTED] advised he intended to endeavor to  
use these papers to induce the Cuban Government to  
release his friend, [REDACTED] who is presently  
in custody in Cuba for alleged Cuban counterrevolutionary  
activities. b7C

[REDACTED] possessed no information relative to  
the reliability of this information, nor the original  
source, other than as indicated by the papers themselves. b7C

Among these papers, when translated from the  
Spanish language, appears the following information  
relating to the above captioned matter:

109-12-210-1374

**ALLEGED LANDINGS IN CUBA AND  
VENEZUELA BY RUSSIAN VESSELS  
AND SUBMARINES**

October, 1958

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] then members of the Speleology Society of Cuba,  
received a Soviet submarine on the southern coast of  
Oriente Province, close to Belic. Two Soviet naval  
technicians from the submarine went ashore. b7C

The mission was the study of the marine  
platform, the natural entrances, the large caves, the  
grottos with an exit to the ocean that exist in that  
zone, in order that they may proceed with the installa-  
tion of a secret supply base for the Russian submarines.

In those days [REDACTED], who is presently  
[REDACTED] of the Institute of the Agrarian  
Reform and Captain of the Army, together with [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], presently [REDACTED] of FIDEL CASTRO, scaled  
the "Pico Turquino" (Deep Blue Point), placing a bust of  
JOSE MARTI at the peak of the Point, in order to dissimulate  
the purpose of their explorations. b7C

NOTE:

- a) Installation of that base in a place  
close to the United States base at  
Guantanamo.
- b) Total control of the Caribe by the Soviet  
submarines, being able to operate said  
submarines without fear when resupplying.

**ALLEGED LANDINGS IN CUBA AND  
VENEZUELA BY RUSSIAN VESSELS  
AND SUBMARINES**

**REFERENCE:**

Diverse information received that after January 1, 1959, Soviet technicians in company with Cuban speleologists, have worked together in relation to the Russian bases.

X X X

**November, 1958**

The Military Intelligence Service had information that two Russians had a mission of going deep into the mountains and joining the rebels, without being acquainted with the location. About the 10th of November they were notified that the Russians had joined CHE GUEVARA at Las Villas.

These two Soviet officers arrived in a sailboat en route from Curacao, Dutch West Indies, after having traveled as far as Venezuela via Mexico.

X X X

**November, 1958**

Place: Cochinos Bay, southern coast of Las Villas Province. The bay is close to Cienaga de Zapata, and was visited by a Russian submarine which

**ALLEGED LANDINGS IN CUBA AND  
VENEZUELA BY RUSSIAN VESSELS  
AND SUBMARINES**

anchored in the center of the bay. From the submarine debarked two crew members, who were being awaited by three members of the Cuban Communist Party. The Cubans accompanied them as far as Central Australia where they bought supplies, besides the fuel that was already prepared for the submarine.

At sunset on that same day, they proceeded in debarking a small missile launching base. After carrying out this operation, the Military Intelligence Service proceeded in arresting two Russians and one Cuban, with the ill fate of the submarine that did not return at night.

**OBJECTIVE:**

- a) The very secret installation of a small missile launching base at that place.
- b) Close to the United States.

X X X

**December 5, 1958**

Place: Northern coast of Oriente, close to Nipa, the main harbor in Cuba. A Russian submarine debarked arms and ammunition for the forces under Commandant RAUL CASTRO, at that time Chief of the Second Oriental Front - [REDACTED], in the northern part of Oriente Province. Two rebel army officers embarked the ship.

b7c

X X X

**ALLEGED LANDINGS IN CUBA AND  
VENEZUELA BY RUSSIAN VESSELS  
AND SUBMARINES**

**Supplying of Arms by Russia to Venezuela and Cuba**

Tankers on the way to Aruba and Curacao have turned aside from their respective destinations to land arms on the coasts of Falcon, which have been transported to the places where they were to be stored by members of the Democratic Action Party.

Of the arms sent by Russia to Venezuela, 1,400 rifles; 200 machine guns and a large quantity of munitions were transported by planes of the Venezuelan Air Force to the Air Base of San Antonio de los Banos, in Cuba.

June 2, 1959, Havana--A Soviet merchant vessel landed arms in Cuba, and they were transported in trucks of Artillery Regiment 7 of La Cabana Fortress.

Testimony of Captain of the Rebel Army,  
[REDACTED], who took asylum in the United States on June 3, for not participating in the Communist ideas of CASTRO. b7C

June 2, 1959, Cardenas--Foreign merchant ship landed arms in Cardenas, Province of Matanzas, among which were 3,000 Czech rifles.

Source of Information: Rebel Army sergeant, assigned to guard the shipment, who told his friend, [REDACTED], in a letter sent for that purpose. b7C

X X X

**ALLEGED LANDINGS IN CUBA AND  
VENEZUELA BY RUSSIAN VESSELS  
AND SUBMARINES**

**Supplying of Arms by Russia to Venezuela and Cuba**

Russian submarines have been seen landing arms seven times in the course of a year on the coasts of Falcon and Tunamo Bay in Venezuela.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Time</u>
February 23, 1959	Tunamo Bay	9:30 P.M. to 2:25 A.M.
April 6, 1959	Tunamo Bay	6:45 A.M. to --
April 19, 1959	Falcon	11:00 P.M. to --
April 30, 1959	11 kilometers east of La Guayra	2:00 A.M. to 4:05 A.M.
May 11, 1959	Tunamo Bay	-----*
May 22, 1959	La Guayra	(French flag) 7:00 P.M. to 2:00 A.M.
August 14, 1959	Falcon	2 days (French flag)

\* Information about the hour of arrival was not furnished, but it was noted because of the heavy escort in the vicinity, and the convoy of four pick-ups and one truck, belonging to the people's militia of the Communist Party; Democratic Action.

X X X

**ALLEGED LANDINGS IN CUBA AND  
VENEZUELA BY RUSSIAN VESSELS  
AND SUBMARINES**

Sunday, September 27, 1959

Place: Cayo Confites, north of the Province  
of Camaguey.

Report: A Russian submarine, which left  
from the region near the key, and which was going  
toward it, was observed by a ship of the Cuban Merchant  
Marine.

The Captain of the ship noted all the details  
concerning the submarine and the numbers which appeared  
on the turret. He was able to see that the flag was  
all red. When he reached the Port of Havana, he  
presented the ship's log to the Captain of the Port.  
When the latter read the reference to the submarine,  
he crossed it out, and threatened the ship's Captain,  
telling him to forget everything connected with it.  
The Captain, who is Cuban, is in Havana, very much  
discouraged, because he does not know what to do since  
he is being watched so closely.

It is to be noted that this Russian submarine,  
which is navigating in that region, has to navigate  
also through waters under English jurisdiction, since  
there are a large number of islands and keys which  
are possessions of England throughout that region.

X X X

PROPERTY OF FBI - This memorandum is loaned  
to you by the FBI, and neither it nor its contents  
should be distributed outside the agency to which  
loaned.



XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
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- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☒ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)

National Security  
Act of 1947 and the  
CIA Act of 1949

☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

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F B I

Date: 3/21/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Malone	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Mr. W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Ingram	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, WFO (97-1017)

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS-CUBA  
IS-CUBA

[REDACTED]

The attached memoranda are classified "Confidential" since they involve [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and the information contained therein could result in the identification of an informant of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

ENCLOSURE  
3-Bureau (Encls-27)-WFO  
(1)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.HJM:red  
(5)

AIRTEL

7-31-03  
CLASSIFIED BY au 6090 BCC/KC/PA  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X-1

C C - Wick

REC-54

109-12-210-1376

1 E C  
State (Liaison) CIA, B2, CNI  
OSI, Havana (cc of antel)  
3-23-60  
BY FEQ/ST 2/5 (infr)

**SECRET**

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

b7C

b1

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b1

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
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- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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109-HQ-12-210-1376, enclosure

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F B I

Date: 3/18/60

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

Priority or Method of Mailing

7-31-83  
CLASSIFIED BY *am 60290 BCC/KAPK*  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (109-112)

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies of a letterhead memorandum, captioned as above. One copy is being furnished to the Miami Office for information.

[REDACTED] (S) b7C

[REDACTED] (S) b1

[REDACTED] (S) b1

[REDACTED] (S) b1

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "Confidential" in view of the highly confidential and sensitive nature of the source, whose identity, if known, would compromise the future effectiveness of the source.

Information from this source, if used in a report, must be most carefully paraphrased in order to protect the source. Under no circumstances should any unauthorized person be allowed to have knowledge of the information furnished by the source.

3-Bureau (109-12-210) (Encls. 5) (RM)  
1-Miami (105-1747) (Encl. 1) (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (109-112)

28  
20 MAR 19 1960LAB: jxb  
(6)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_

ESP

b7C

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
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Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of \_\_\_\_\_

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- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

109-HQ-12-210-1377, enclosure

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SAC, New York (109-112)

March 25, 1960

REC-48

EX-152

Director, FBI (109-12-210) - 1577

**SECRET**

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

93746

Reurairtel 3/18/60 captioned as above and its enclosed letterhead memorandum of same date and caption.

The letterhead memorandum submitted with reairtel did not suitably paraphrase the information in order that the source was adequately protected.

[REDACTED]

b1

Enc. (2)

WFS:gmh  
(5) gmh

5  
7403  
CLASSIFIED BY one 60220 BC/RC/SC  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1  
393226

NOTE: Letterhead memorandum submitted by New York indicates a contact between two individuals and sets out the identities of the individuals as well as their locations. Information also contains quoted material. It is not believed the memorandum furnished by New York adequately paraphrases information and protects this highly sensitive source and New York is being cautioned to use more care in the future.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Persons \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 8  
MAR 25 1960  
COMM-FBI

51 MAR 30 1960

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

**SECRET**

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. Branigan  
1 - [REDACTED]

b7C

CLASSIFIED BY 60240 BEE/10/70  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

~~SECRET~~

March 25, 1960

93747

1-7-63

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

[REDACTED]

b1

[REDACTED]

b1

This document contains neither recommendations  
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the  
FBI and is a loan to your agency; it and its contents  
are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

109-12-210

2 - New York (109-112) By separate letter

Original & one copy to State Department (by routing slip).

1 - CIA (by routing slip)

[REDACTED] gmh  
(9)

b7C

NOTE: Classified "Confidential" due to sensitive  
nature of source, [REDACTED]

b1

109-12-210-1377

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b7C

## ***FILE DESCRIPTION***



**SUBJECT**

Cuba

**FILE NO.**

109-HQ-12-210

**VOLUME NO.**

33



b2  
b7c

109- HQ-12-210

SECTION 33

SERIALS 1378-1415



109-HQ-12-210-331

4-679 (Rev.6-22-90)

Service: <b>REGULAR</b>		Action: <b>PICK</b>		File-Aut <b>1/2</b>	
File Number <b>109-12-210</b>		Serial (S) <b>SAVANNAH PROJECT</b>		Date	
Section <b>33</b>	Serial Scope <b>1378</b>	<b>1415</b>		Employee	
<b>REQUESTED BY</b>					
Name	Bldg.	TL.	Room	Ext.	Subject
<b>FILE OUT TO</b>					
Name	Bldg.	TL.	Room	Ext.	Subject
<b>TO BE FORWARDED</b>					
Name <b>DK19490</b>	Bldg.	TL.	Room	Ext.	Subject
COMMENT: <b>SAVANNAH PROJECT</b>					

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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National Security  
Act of 1947 and the  
CIA Act of 1949

☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

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Director, FBI (109-584)

3/10/60

SAC, Buffalo (109-6)

ANTI-FIREL CASTRO ACTIVITIES  
IS - CUBA

68949

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBA

Re New York airtel to Director, FBI 2/11/60.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 12 copies of a letterhead memorandum setting forth an interview with [REDACTED] on 3/9/60. Two copies each of the letterhead memorandum are also enclosed for Miami and New York. [REDACTED] is and has been unavailable currently on a business trip throughout the United States. He is expected to return to Rochester in approximately 10 days. He will be interviewed upon his return.

b7C

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-3-03 BY 6090BCE/KCPK

Will furnish Buffalo a summary of any derogatory information in New York files regarding [REDACTED] and/or [REDACTED]. Buffalo is aware that [REDACTED] were on trail during 1959 for violation of the Federal Firearms Act which case concerned the alleged illegal sale of machine guns and other firearms to a foreign government.

b7C

ENCLOSURE

- ④ - Bureau (Encls. 12) (RM)
    - (1 - 109-12-210)
  - 2 - Miami (105-1747) (Encls. 2) (RM)
    - (1 - 105-1742)
  - 2 - New York (105-35253) (Encls. 2) (RM)
    - (1 - 109-112)
  - 1 - Buffalo
- MHT:pan  
(9)

109-12-210-

NOT RECORDED  
174 MAR 16 1960

61 APR 4 1960



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

400 U. S. Court House  
Buffalo 2, New York  
March 10, 1960

68950

ANTI-FIDEL CASTRO ACTIVITIES  
FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

On March 9, 1960, [REDACTED],  
Bachman Wholesale Company, 1073 Clinton Avenue North, Rochester,  
New York, advised that [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] is presently on a sales trip throughout the entire  
United States. [REDACTED] said he expected [REDACTED] to  
return to Rochester in approximately 10 days.

b7C

According to [REDACTED]  
handled the transaction involving the Hunter Hawkers airplanes,  
exact number unknown. According to [REDACTED], the Hunter Hawkers  
are somewhere in Europe possibly England. He said there have  
been many alleged purchasers, but to his knowledge no one  
has yet come up with the necessary cash and they have not  
been sold. [REDACTED] advised that he has very little  
knowledge of the transaction but understands that both the  
Dominican Republic and the Cuban Government have been in-  
terested in purchasing the airplanes. [REDACTED] said  
that the going rate for each airplane is somewhere between  
\$200,000 and \$250,00. [REDACTED] advised that he has  
no further details.

b7C

This is loaned to you by the FBI and neither it  
nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency  
to which loaned.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/2/03 BY [REDACTED] 0906E/KC/PK

109-12-210-

ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Date: 3/21/60

RE: MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS

Also:

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases:

Date and Place of Birth:

Height: NI Weight: NI Sex: Male

Color of Eyes: NI Color of Hair: NI

Passport: # [redacted] type USSR Valid until NI

Issued by NI

Type of Visa: C-3 Occupation: NI

Arrived: 3/14/60 via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address: NI

Business Address:

In transit Cuba to Europe

Dependents: NI

5-Bureau (RM)  
(1-109-12-210) (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (109-112) (CUBA)  
1-New York (100-62936)  
GEM:jd 1560 139/103

1109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
184 APR 5 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/85 BY 60290 BEE/KG



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF

CE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

Date: 3/21/60

RE: MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS  
[REDACTED] Also:

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED] b7C

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED]

Height: NI Weight: NI Sex: Male

Color of Eyes: NI Color of Hair: NI

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type USSR Valid until NI

Issued by NI

Type of Visa: 6-3 Occupation NI

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit to Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address:

NI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/03 BY 60910 BCF/KAP

Business Address:

In transit Cuba to Europe

Dependents:

NI

5-Bureau (RM)  
(1-109-12-210) (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (109-112) (CUBA)  
1-New York (100-62936)

CWM:rja

(9)

F139/03

109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
184 APR 5 1960

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-308748-70



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 60th Street  
New York 21, New York

Date: 3/21/60

RE: REPORT OF SOVIET NATIONALS  
[REDACTED] Aka:

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED]

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED] b7C

Height: NI Weight: NI Sex: Male

Color of Eyes: NI Color of Hair: NI

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type USNR Valid until NI

Issued by NI Political Matters - Cuba

Type of Visa: C-3 Occupation: NI

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address: NI

Business Address: NI

Dependents: NI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-3-03 BY 60290 BCE/KAP

5-Bureau (RM)  
①-109-12-210 (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (109-112) (CUBA)  
1-New York (100-62936) 60 APR 17 1960  
CFW:rjd  
(9)

109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
133 APR 5 1960

ORIGINAL FILED IN 109-12-210-210



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

Date: 3/14/60

RE: **MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS**  
**[REDACTED]**

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: **[REDACTED]**

Date and Place of Birth: **[REDACTED]** b7C

Height: **NI** Weight: **NI** Sex: **Male**

Color of Eyes: **NI** Color of Hair: **NI**

Passport: # **[REDACTED]** Type USAR Valid until **NI**

Issued by NI Political MATTERS - Cuba

Type of Visa: **0-3** Occupation: **NI**

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit to Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address: **NI**

Business Address: **NI**

**In transit to Cuba to Europe**

Dependents: **NI**

5-Bureau (RM)  
①-109-12-210 (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (109-112 (CUBA))  
1-New York (100-62936)

5-MAR 1960  
(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/03 BY 60290 BCE/KAPK

109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
133 APR 5 1960

ORIGINAL FILED IN





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Date: 3/12/60

RE: MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS

Area:

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/11/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases:

Date and Place of Birth:

Height: NI Weight: NI Sex: Male

Color of Eyes: NI Color of Hair: NI

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type USSR Valid until NI

Issued by NI

Type of Visa: G-3 Occupation: NI

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/03 BY 60462/UC/ML/10

Residence Address: NI

Business Address: Cuba  
In transit to Europe

Dependents: NI

5-Bureau (RM)  
(109-12-210) (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (109-112) (CUBA)  
1-New York (100-62936)

GTW:rjd 50 APR 7 1960

109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
149 APR 5 1960

ORIGINAL FILE IN 10

POLITICAL MATTERS CUBA



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

Date: 3/21/60

RE: MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS  
[REDACTED]

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED]

b7C

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED]

Height: NI Weight: NI Sex: Male

Color of Eyes: NI Color of Hair: NI

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type USSR Valid until NI

Issued by NI Political Matters - Cuba

Type of Visa B-3 Occupation NI

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit to Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address: NI

Business Address:

In transit to Cuba to Europe

Dependents: NI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/1/02 BY 60290 B6/10/02

5-Bureau (RM)  
①-109-12-210 (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (109-112) (CUBA)

1-New York (100-62936)  
CUBA-14 (C)

109-12-210 -  
NOT RECORDED  
133 APR 5 1960



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

Date: 3/21/60

RE: MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS  
[REDACTED]

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED]

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED]

Height: NI Weight: NI Sex: Female

Color of Eyes: NI Color of Hair: NI

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type DESR Valid until NI

Issued by NI Political matters - Cuba

Type of Visa: C-3 Occupation: NI

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 996 at NY International

Destination: In transit - Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address: NI

Business Address: In transit to Cuba to Europe

Dependents: NI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/3/83 BY 60240 BCP/HCP

5-Bureau (RM)  
(1-109-12-210) (CUBA)  
2-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (100-112) (CUBA)  
1-New York (100-82936)  
CTW:rjd

109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
133 APR 5 1960



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

Date: 3/21/60

RE: MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS

Aka:

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED]

b7C

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED]

Height: NI Weight: NI Sex: Male

Color of Eyes: NI Color of Hair: NI

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type USSR Valid until NI

Issued by NI

Type of Visa: C-3 Occupation NI

*Political Refugee*

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address: NI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/10/03 BY awc 60240 BCL/KC

Business Address: In transit Cuba to Europe

Dependents: NI

5-Bureau (RM)  
(1-109-12-210) (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (105-112) (CUBA)  
5-New York (100-62936)  
CTW:rjd  
(9)

109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
10 APR 5 1960



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Date: 3/21/60

RE: **MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS**

AKA:

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED]

b7C

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED]

Height: **NI** Weight: **NI** Sex: **Female**

Color of Eyes: **NI** Color of Hair: **NI**

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type Russia Valid until **NI**

Issued by NI Political matters - Cuba

Type of Visa: **C-3** Occupation **NI**

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit to Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address: **NI**

Business Address:

In transit Cuba to Europe

Dependents: **NI**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/1/03 BY AW 68210 BCF/KCF

5-Bureau (RM)  
①-109-12-210 (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (109-112) (CUBA)  
1-New York (100-62936)  
CRN:rjd 2 APR 1960

109-12-210 -  
NOT RECORDED  
133 APR 5 1960

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

Date: 3/21/60

RE: **MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS**  
[REDACTED] **Alka:**

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED] b7C

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED]

Height: **NI** Weight: **NI** Sex: **Male**

Color of Eyes: **NI** Color of Hair: **NI**

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type **USSR** Valid until **NI**

Issued by **NI**

Type of Visa: **C-3** Occupation **NI**

*Political matters*

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address:

**NI**

Business Address:

**In transit Cuba to Europe**

Dependents: **NI**

5-Bureau (RM)  
109-12-210 (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (109-112) (CUBA)  
1-New York (100-62936)

6-2-10-10  
(9)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/03 BY [REDACTED]

109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
148 APR 5 1960

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

Date: 3/21/60

RE: **MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS**  
[REDACTED] Also:

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED]

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED]

Height: **NI** Weight: **NI** Sex: **Male**

Color of Eyes: **NI** Color of Hair: **NI**

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type USSE Valid until NI

Issued by NI Political Matters - Cuba

Type of Visa: **0-3** Occupation: **NI**

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/27/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address:

**NI**

Business Address:

**In transit Cuba to Europe**

Dependents:

**NI**

5-Bureau (RM)  
(109-12-210) (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1308)  
1-New York (109-112) (CUBA)  
1-New York (100-67956)  
STW:rjd 60 APR 12 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/03 BY 60291 BEE/KR/K

109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
133 APR 5 1960



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

Date: 3/21/60

RE: MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS  
[REDACTED]

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/17/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED]

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED] b7C

Height: NI Weight: NI Sex: Male

Color of Eyes: NI Color of Hair: NI

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type USSR Valid until NI

Issued by NI

Type of Visa: C-3 Occupation: NI

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International *Political matters*

Destination: In transit to Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address:

NI

Business Address:

In transit to Cuba to Europe

Dependents: NI

Bureau (RM)  
4-109-12-210 (CUBA)  
Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
New York (105-1398)  
New York (109-112) (CUBA)  
New York (100-62936)  
Jd 11 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/3/0 BY 60460 BCP/MLK

109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
140 APR 5 1960

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
201 East 69th Street  
New York 21, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Date: 3/21/60

RE: MOVEMENT OF SOVIET NATIONALS

Aka:

The following information regarding the above-captioned alien was furnished on 3/27/60 by the Office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service located at NY, NY.

Name and aliases: [REDACTED]

Date and Place of Birth: [REDACTED] b7C

Height: NI Weight: NI Sex: Male

Color of Eyes: NI Color of Hair: NI

Passport: # [REDACTED] Type USNR Valid until NI

Issued by NI

Type of Visa: C-3 Occupation: NI

Arrived: 3/14/60 Via CUBANA 998 at NY International

Destination: In transit Cuba to Europe

Admitted until 3/17/60

Departed: 3/14/60 Via BOAC 504 at NY International

Destination: Europe

Residence Address: NI

Business Address: In transit Cuba to Europe

Dependents: NI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-21-03 BY 60290 CE/KAPK

5-Bureau (RM)  
(1-109-12-210) (CUBA)  
1-Washington Field (INFO) (RM)  
1-New York (105-1398)  
1-New York (109-112) (CUBA)  
1-New York (100-62936)  
MAR 6 1960 24/107

1109-12-210-  
NOT RECORDED  
18 APR 5 1960

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XXXXXX  
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET5

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of \_\_\_\_\_

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): \_\_\_\_\_

☒

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

109-40-12-210-1379

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X Deleted Page(s) X  
X No Duplication Fee X  
X for this page X  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

3/16/60

AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~

*0 Political matter - Cuba*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-26567) (100-284892)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18080) (100-14294)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED], aka.  
IS - C; ISA OF 1960

b7C

SM - C

aka.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-31-83 BY *am 60290 BEE/RC/PT*

Enclosed herewith are eight copies of a dual captioned letterhead memorandum relating to the contemplated travel of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] to Havana, Cuba.

b7C

In regard to travel to Cuba, inquiries on 3/14/60, at the Passport Agency, U. S. State Department, Chicago, Illinois, reflected that no U. S. Passport for Cuban visa required by U. S. Citizens for travel to that area.

A check of KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, Delta Airlines, Pan-American Grace Airways, and National Airlines reservation offices, Chicago, on 3/14/60, failed to locate reservations with any of those airlines for passage in the name of [REDACTED] to Havana. The above airlines were contacted inasmuch as they are the only lines serving both Chicago and Havana. However, numerous other airlines schedule Miami flights at which point transfer could be made to other Havana flights.

b7C

4 - Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)  
2 - Chicago  
RWH:mak  
(6)

*1109-12-210-*  
NOT RECORDED  
170 APR 4 1960

*73103*  
CLASSIFIED BY *am 60290 BEE/RC/PT*  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-26567

~~SECRET~~

Contact is being maintained with [REDACTED] the source of information relating to the travel plans of [REDACTED]. Additional pertinent information, if developed, will be furnished to the Bureau.

b2  
b7C  
D

Photographs of [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] are being enclosed inasmuch as the Bureau may desire to forward same to Legate, Havana, with copies of the enclosed letterhead memorandum. Descriptions of the subjects are set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum.

b7C

Sufficient copies of the letterhead memorandum have been enclosed since Bureau may desire to designate copies to ONI and CIA.

For the Bureau's information, current reports were recently submitted on both of the subjects and these reports are identified below:

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 3/2/60, at Chicago, and captioned "[REDACTED] aka., SM - C"

b7C

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 1/19/60, at Chicago, and captioned "[REDACTED] aka., IS - C; ISA of 1950"

b7C

Sources used in enclosed letterhead memorandum in order of use, are as follows:

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] S

b1  
b2  
b7C  
D

Sources used in the documentation of CCDDR are as follows:

[REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

~~SECRET~~

CG 100-18080 100-14294

~~SECRET~~

All of the foregoing have furnished reliable information in the past.

Public source of information was utilized to document the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America.

The enclosed memorandum has been classified "Confidential" inasmuch as it sets forth information from [REDACTED] a current live informant, which if disclosed could jeopardize the continued future effectiveness of this informant.

b2  
b7D

LOPEZ )

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

CONFIDENTIAL

Chicago, Illinois  
March 16, 1960

[REDACTED]  
Also Known As [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED], Nee  
[REDACTED]

b7C

On March 14, 1960, [REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [REDACTED], Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights (CCDDR), Room 811, 189 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, planned to travel to Havana, Cuba. [REDACTED], who resides at [REDACTED], will be accompanied by [REDACTED]. Plans now call for a departure by air from Chicago on April 9, 1960, with a change of planes at Miami, Florida. [REDACTED] described purpose of travel as a two week "vacation". The source could not identify the airline by which [REDACTED] would travel or the specific times for their departure or arrivals.

b7C  
D

[REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in mid-January, 1960, that [REDACTED] was then a member of the District Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

b7C  
D

The CP, USA, its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates, has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[REDACTED], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in early February, 1960, that [REDACTED] was employed as [REDACTED] by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 37 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

b7C  
D

109-12-210-

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED BY *60224 BCF/mj*

ON *7/3/83*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7C  
D

In February, 1959, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] membership was being transferred to a new Section of the CP, Illinois.

[REDACTED] is described as follows:

b7C

Date and Place of Birth	[REDACTED]
Citizenship	United States by birth to United States Citizens
Sex	Male
Race	White
Height	6'
Weight	170 pounds
Eyes	Brown
Hair	Brown and greying
Build	Medium

b7C

[REDACTED] is described as follows:

b7C

Date and Place of Birth	[REDACTED]
Citizenship	United States native born
Sex	Female
Race	White
Height	5'
Weight	108 pounds
Eyes	Blue
Hair	Brown and greying
Build	Slender
Complexion	Sallow
U. S. Passport Number	[REDACTED], issued January 13, 1959

b7C

Documentations of the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America are attached.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS,  
formerly known as the Chicago Joint Defense  
Committee to Defeat the Smith Act**

[redacted] advised on April 15, 1958, that the Chicago Joint Defense Committee to Defeat the Smith Act (CJDC) was formed by the Communist Party (CP) in March, 1956. b7D

[redacted] advised on July 17, 1958, that at a working conference of the CJDC held on June 8, 1958, at Chicago, the name of the CJDC was changed to the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights (CCDDR). The purpose of the CCDDR, according to its "Statement of Principles and Organization", is to ". . . defend and extend the human rights embodied in the Bill of Rights. . . and to put an end to the political and racial persecutions which threaten American democracy today." Officers of the CCDDR elected at this conference were [redacted] and [redacted] both of whom were officers of the CJDC. As of May, 1959, this organization continued to function within the framework of its stated principles. Working committees affiliated with the CCDDR in 1958 and 1959, in accordance with the CCDDR's Statement of Principles and Organization, included a welfare committee for the families of Smith Act victims and a committee to work for Taft-Hartley defendants. b7C  
D

[redacted] was identified by [redacted] as a member of the CP in March, 1959. b7C  
D

[redacted] according to [redacted] as of March, 1959, was a member of the Illinois CP State Committee. b7C  
D

The CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order #10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND  
MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UE)

On November 2, 1949, at the 11th Convention of the Congress on Industrial Organization (CIO), held at Cleveland, Ohio, the UE was expelled from the CIO for alleged Communist denomination.

This memorandum is loaned to you by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and neither it nor its contents are to be distributed outside the agency to which loaned.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-26567  
100-264892

Date: March 24, 1960

To: Office of Security  
Department of State

From: 109-12-210-  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: [REDACTED]  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

b7C

[REDACTED]  
SECURITY MATTER - C

b7C

Information has been received that the captioned individuals contemplate traveling to Cuba in the near future. In this connection, there is enclosed a memorandum containing pertinent information available concerning travel plans of the above individuals. Reports concerning the captioned individuals have been furnished to your Department and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

No investigation is requested; however, it would be appreciated if you would furnish this Bureau any information coming to your attention concerning the activities of subjects while they are in Cuba. Upon removal of classified enclosure, this letter becomes unclassified.

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-31-03 BY [REDACTED]

- 1 - Director (Enclosure)  
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

- 3 - Chicago (100-18080) (100-14294) SEE NOTE PAGE TWO  
2 - Legal Attache, Havana (Enclosures 5) SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

- 1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (route through for review)

NOTE ON YELLOW PAGE 2

ENC: jth (15)

CONFIDENTIAL

1960

100-26567-138  
ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

BY COURIER SVS  
17 MAR 23  
COMM-FBI

99.51

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**ATTENTION: LEGAL ATTACHE, HAVANA AND SAN. CIGUAGO**

**Re Chicago airtel 3-16-60.**

Enclosed for the Legal Attache, Havana are three copies of a memorandum dated 3-16-60 at Chicago, Illinois, concerning the captioned individuals. Also enclosed are one photograph of [REDACTED] and one photograph of [REDACTED].

Contact your sources for any information coming to their attention concerning the subjects while in Cuba. Advise the Bureau promptly of any information coming to the attention of your office concerning the subjects and also furnish such information locally to the CIA. Copies of the enclosed memorandum may be furnished to your sources if deemed advisable. For your additional information, subjects are on the Security Index of the Chicago Office.

b7C

Chicago remain alert in this matter and immediately furnish the Bureau any information coming to your attention concerning the subjects' travel plans in a form suitable for dissemination.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

[REDACTED] is [REDACTED] of the Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights, and is a member of the Illinois State Committee of the Communist Party (CP). [REDACTED] was a member of the CP as of February, 1959, and is employed as [REDACTED] by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Chicago, Illinois. Information in reairtel indicates they plan to depart for Cuba during early part of April for two-weeks vacation. Letter classified "Confidential" inasmuch as memorandum enclosed is so classified. The memorandum contains information from a current live informant which if disclosed could jeopardize continued effectiveness of the informant.

b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

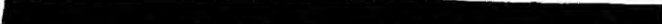
Date: 3/24/60

REC-88

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (109-12-210)


FROM: SAC, WFO (97-1017)

FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA  
IS - CUBA~~SECRET~~The attached memo is classified "Confidential" since it reveals 

and the information could result in identification of an informant of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof. (S)

3-Bureau *Enc 9*

2-WFO

(1-)HJM/est  
(5)100  
AGENCY *State (Liaison) CIA, B-2*REG. NO. *204,034, 11/11/58 (1-10/58)*DATE FORW. *3/28/60*HOW FORW. *MS*BY *Regist*AIRTEL8-103  
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G. G. Wick

Approved: *James F. Gale*  
Special Agent in ChargeSent ~~SECRET~~ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b7C

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
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DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☒ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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*Fice*

NT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: March 22, 1960

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (109-0)

ATTN: CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

SUBJECT: ~~CUBAN GOVERNMENT PRINTED MATERIAL~~

*Political Materials Cuba*

~~REC-65~~

Enclosed for the Central Research Section are copies of the following printed booklets:

79367

- 1) ~~"Land Reform Law"~~
- 2) ~~"Fidel Castro speaks to the children"~~
- 3) ~~"Fidel Castro speaks with the people of Cuba"~~
- 4) ~~"History will absolve me!"~~

The above mentioned material was furnished voluntarily by [redacted] (Bufile [redacted] Chicago file [redacted] on March 8, 1960. [redacted] advised that he had obtained these booklets from the desk of [redacted] of Cuban Prime Minister FIDEL CASTRO.

b7c

These booklets are furnished for whatever value they may have and need not be returned to the Chicago Division.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
- (1- [redacted])
- 2 - Chicago
- (1- [redacted])

b7c

DEH:JEH  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8-7-05 BY [redacted]

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109-12-210-1381

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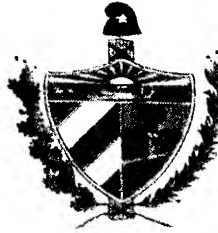
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CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

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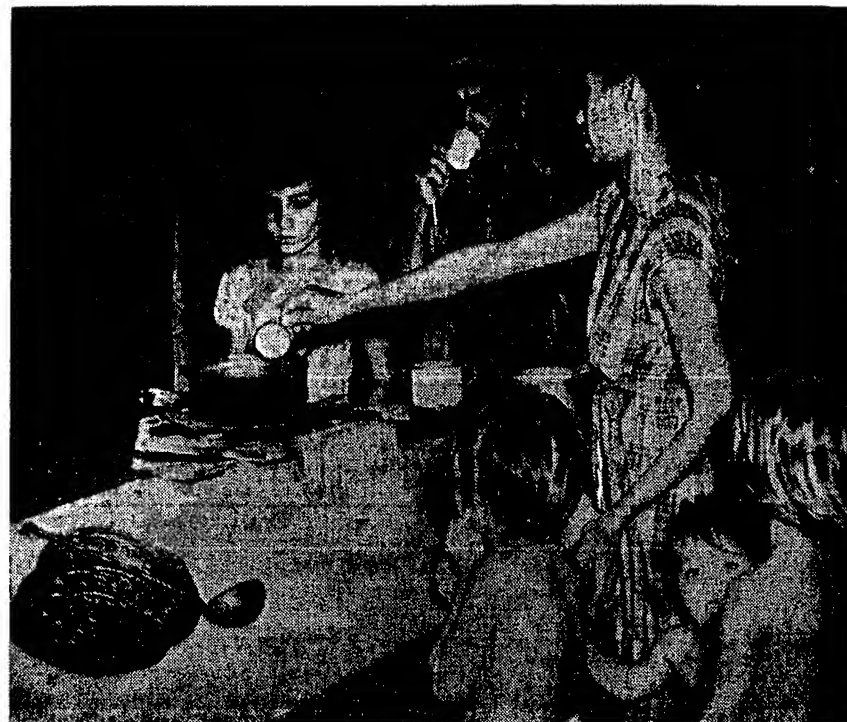
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REPUBLIC OF CUBA

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DATED 8-7-03 BY *aw 6090 bce/kg/pdk*  
~~SECRET~~

# Land Reform Law



THIS IS WHY CUBA NEEDS THE LAND REFORM.



# REPUBLIC OF CUBA

## EXECUTIVE ORDER

### *Council of Ministers*

DR. MANUEL URRUTIA LLEO, President of the Republic of Cuba

*Wherein:* The Council of Ministers has approved and I have sanctioned the following:

*Whereas:* The progress of Cuba involves both the growth and diversification of industry in order to facilitate the most effective utilization of our natural resources by our citizens, as well as to eliminate our dependence on the one-crop system of agriculture, which still prevails basically and is one of the symptoms of our inadequate economic development;

*And Whereas:* To those ends the Revolutionary Government proposes to pass laws that will safeguard and stimulate private industry by means of protective tariffs, fiscal policies and the sound handling of public and private credit as well as to encourage other forms of industrial development, and at the same time to guide Cuban agriculture on the road to essential development and progress;

*And Whereas:* In all the studies that have been made for the purpose of promoting economic development, especially those undertaken by the United Nations, special attention has been given to the importance of carrying out an Agrarian Reform, insofar as economic matters are concerned, with two main goals: (a) to facilitate and increase the growing of new crops to provide the nation's industries with raw materials and to meet food consumption requirements; to develop and expand those items of agricultural production intended for export, a source of foreign

Additional copies of this publication may be obtained by addressing a request to:  
Office of the Prime Minister of Cuba.  
Havana, Cuba.

exchange for essential imports; and (b) at the same time, to increase the consumer market by means of progressive improvement in the standard of living of those people in the rural areas, in this way —by expanding the domestic market— contributing toward the establishment of industries that are not very profitable in a limited market and to develop other lines of products that are limited for the same reason;

*And Whereas:* According to the opinion repeatedly expressed by the technical experts, in the case of Cuba the goals set forth in the preceding clause are attainable and, as an additional stimulus for those necessary changes in the present agrarian set-up in our country, it has become urgently necessary to rescue the great majority of the rural population of Cuba from the state of poverty in which they have traditionally struggled;

*And Whereas:* In Cuban agriculture frequent use is made of the sharecropping agreement and of the system of ground rents, which discourage the farmer by placing inequitable, uneconomical, and in many cases extortionary obligations upon him, thus preventing the best utilization of the land;

*And Whereas:* The National Agricultural Census of 1946 showed that the great majority of the farms now being cultivated are being worked by persons who do not own the land and who work it as sharecroppers, tenant farmers (including sugar cane growers), and squatters, while the ownership rights are vested in absentee landlords, a circumstance which in many cases constitutes a social injustice and in all cases represents a factor that discourages productive efficiency;

*And Whereas:* In the said Agricultural Census the extreme and undesirable concentration of land ownership in a few hands also became evident, and it was found that 2,336 farms represent ownership of an area of 317,000 *caballerías*\* of land, which means that 1.5 percent of the owners possess more than 46 percent of all the farm land of the country, a situation that is still more serious if it is kept in mind that some owners possess several very large farms;

\*Translator's note: The "caballería" is about 33 acres.

*And Whereas:* In contrast to the situation described in the foregoing clause, we have the phenomenon of 111,000 farms of less than two *caballerías* each, which comprise an area of only 76,000 *caballerías*, which in turn means that seventy percent of the farms occupy less than twelve percent of the nation's farm land and in addition there is a large number of farms, about 62,000, that occupy an area of less than three-fourths of a *caballería* each;

*And Whereas:* It is obvious that in large farms there is a detrimental failure to utilize the natural resources, inasmuch as the soil in the cultivated areas is used in ways that produce a low yield; and too much space is devoted to large-scale cattle raising, and other areas that could be reclaimed for productive activities are left completely fallow and in some cases covered with marabú bushes;

*And Whereas:* It is unanimously agreed that the existence of large landholdings, as shown by the foregoing data, not only runs counter to the modern concept of social justice but constitutes one of the factors responsible for the underdeveloped, dependent structure of the Cuban economy, as can be demonstrated by pointing out various characteristics, among them the following: the fact that the national income depends on production for export, considered as the "strategic variable" of the Cuban economy, which is thus highly vulnerable to the cyclical depressions of the world economy; the strong propensity to import, including goods that under other conditions could be produced in Cuba; the consequent lessening of opportunity for profit from local investments and the reduction in our own exports; the technical backwardness of the methods of cultivation and of operating the cattle industry; in general, the low standard of living of the Cuban people and in particular of the rural population, with the consequent low purchasing power of the domestic market, which is unable, under such conditions, to encourage the development of national industry;

*And Whereas:* The Constitution of 1940 and the Organic Law of the Revolutionary Government prohibit large landholdings and provide that measures to abolish them permanently shall be provided by law;

*And Whereas:* The constitutional provisions in force provide that private property may be expropriated by the State, provided it is established that such expropriation is in the public interest;

*And Whereas:* It is preferable to replace the production from large landholding, which is uneconomical and based on extensive cultivation, by cooperative production, based on intensive cultivation and the use of technical methods, thereby acquiring advantages of large-scale production;

*And Whereas:* It is essential to establish a technical body that can apply and carry out in every detail the aims of economic development, with the resulting improvement in the standard of living of the Cuban people, in accordance with the letter and the spirit of this law;

*And Whereas:* It is advisable to take measures to prevent the future alienation of Cuban land to foreigners, while at the same time we hereby attest our remembrance and admiration of the patrician figure of Manuel Sanguily, the first Cuban who, as early as 1903 foresaw the terrible consequences of large landholdings and introduced a bill in the Congress of our Republic to prevent the control of Cuban resources by foreigners;

*Therefore:* In exercise of the powers vested in it by the Organic Law of the Republic, the Council of Ministers resolves to enact the following law to be known as the

## **AGRARIAN REFORM LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA**

### **CHAPTER I**

#### *Land in General*

*Article 1.*—Large landholding is hereby prohibited. The maximum area of land that a natural or juridical person may own shall be thirty *caballerías*. Land owned by a natural or juridical person in excess of that limit will be expropriated for distribution among the peasants and agricultural workers who have no land.

*Article 2.*—The following land shall be exempt from the provisions of the foregoing article:

- (a) Areas planted in sugar cane, the yield of which is not less than the national average plus fifty percent.

- (b) Cattle-raising areas that meet the minimum standards for support of cattle per *caballería* fixed by the National Agrarian Reform Institute, taking into account the breed, the time of growth, the birth rate percentage, the system of feeding, the percentage of yield of meat, after slaughter, in the case of beef cattle, or of milk in the case of milch cows. The potential production of the producing area in question will be determined through physical and chemical analysis of the soils, their moisture content and the pattern of rainfall distribution.
- (c) Areas planted in rice that, in the opinion of the National Agrarian Reform Institute, normally yield no less than fifty percent more than the average national production of the variety in question.
- (d) Areas devoted to one or more crops or to a combination of agriculture and stockraising, with or without industrial activity, for the efficient exploitation of which, with a rational economic yield, it is necessary to have an area of land greater than that established as the maximum limit in Article 1 of this Law.

Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, in no event may a natural or juridical person own land greater in area than one hundred *caballerías*. In cases in which a natural or juridical person owns land greater in area than one hundred *caballerías*, and there are two or more crops of the types listed under (a), (b), and (c) of this article on the said land, the benefit of the exemption that is established up to the maximum limit of one hundred *caballerías* shall be granted in such manner as the National Agrarian Reform Institute may determine, the remaining area being subject to the provisions of this Law.

With respect to the crops mentioned in sections (a) and (c), the yields referred to shall be computed by taking into consideration the last harvest. The benefits of these exemptions shall continue as long as those levels of productivity are maintained.

In the case of the exemption indicated in section (d), the National Agrarian Reform Institute shall determine which shall be the areas in excess of the maximum limit of one hundred *ca-*

*ballerías* subject to the provisions of this Law, and shall see to it that economic unity of production is maintained and, in cases of several crops, that the correlation between them, and between the crops and the combination of agricultural and stockraising, where it exists, is also maintained.

*Article 3.*—The land of the State, the provinces, and the municipalities shall also be subject to distribution.

*Article 4.*—The following lands shall be exempt from the provisions of Article 1 and 3 of this Law:

- (a) Undivided areas, possession of which has been granted to agricultural production cooperatives organized by the National Agrarian Reform Institute for the exploitation of lands of the State or lands expropriated for purposes of this Law;
- (b) Those of the State, provinces, and municipalities that were used or may be used for public establishments or for general service to the community;
- (c) Woodland when declared to be included in the forest reserves of the Nation, subject to use, public interest, or exploitation, as may be determined by law;
- (d) Land belonging to rural communities that is intended for purposes of social welfare, education, health, and similar purposes, pursuant to a prior declaration of its nature by the National Agrarian Reform Institute, and only the amount of such land required for those purposes.

In determining the maximum limit of thirty *caballerías* mentioned in Article 1, the following shall not be considered: Areas necessary for industrial establishments enclosed by rural properties, including their sugar mills, offices, and dwellings; urbanized zones within rural properties, and areas which by decision of the National Agrarian Reform Institute are intended for establishing settlements or rural population centers in each Agrarian Development Zone; or where, in the opinion of the National Agrarian Reform Institute, there are other natural resources susceptible of being exploited in anticipation of the future development of the country.

*Article 5.*—The order of priority in each Agrarian Develop-

ment Zone, for expropriation, when necessary, and for the redistribution of land shall be as follows:

- (a) The lands of the State and those privately owned lands on which farmers are established as tenants, subtenants, tenants growing sugar cane, subtenants growing sugar cane, sharecroppers, and squatters;
- (b) The excess areas of lands not protected by the exemptions contained in Article 2 of this Law;
- (c) All other lands that may become subject [to this Law].

Except in the event that the National Agrarian Reform Institute issues an order to the contrary, expropriation and distribution of lands included in the section (b) shall be effected only after completion of the planned distribution of lands included in the first case and after the making of deposits in connection with an appraisal made out of court.

*Article 6.*—Privately owned lands up to a limit of thirty *caballerías* per person or entity shall not be subject to expropriation unless affected by contracts with tenant farmers who grow sugar cane, subtenant farmers who grow sugar cane, tenant farmers, subtenant farmers, and sharecroppers, or occupied by squatters, who hold parcels not larger than five *caballerías* in which case they also shall be subject to expropriation pursuant to the provisions of this Law.

*Article 7.*—Once the expropriations, grants, and sales have been made to tenant farmers, subtenant farmers, tenant farmers who grow sugar cane, subtenant farmers who grow sugar cane, and squatters established on the farm, the owners of lands subject to this law may retain the remainder of the property in so far as it does not exceed the maximum area authorized by the Law.

*Article 8.*—Land that has not been recorded in the Property Registries up to October 10, 1958, shall be considered property of the State.

*Article 9.*—State lands are all those that are recorded in the inventories of national property or acquired through a preferential

right to purchase or any other right, even though the titles may not have been recorded at the Property Registries.

The Ministry of Treasury shall proceed to survey and record all lands which, under the foregoing provisions, belong to the State.

*Article 10.*—The action of the State to recover its lands, including “*realenga*” lands [lands under royal grant in excess of those granted to individuals], and those that were transferred to the Republic when it was constituted as property forming part of its patrimony, is declared imprescriptible.

*Article 11.*—After the promulgation of this Law, it shall be forbidden to enter sharecropping agreements, or any other agreements, in which it is stipulated that rent for rural properties shall be paid in the form of a proportional share of the products thereof. This shall not apply to contracts for grinding sugar cane.

*Article 12.*—Beginning one year after the promulgation of the present Law, corporations may not operate sugar plantations if they fail to meet the following requirements:

- (a) That all shares of stock shall be registered;
- (b) That the holders of those shares shall be Cuban citizens;
- (c) That the holders of those shares shall not be persons who appear as owners, stockholders, or officers of companies engaged in the manufacture of sugar.

After the aforementioned time limit, lands owned by corporations that do not meet the foregoing requisites may be expropriated for the purposes established in the present Law. Likewise the said corporations shall forfeit their right to such grinding quotas as they may have had when this Law was promulgated.

*Article 13.*—Nor may natural persons who are owners, stockholders, or officers of corporations engaged in the manufacture of sugar operate sugar plantations. The lands belonging to such persons operating sugar plantations may be expropriated for the purposes established in the present Law.

Persons who had been growers of sugar cane for a period of not less than five years prior to their present status as owners, shareholders, or officers of companies engaged in the manufac-

ture of sugar shall —provided they can furnish unequivocal proof thereof, and provided they do not own farms more than thirty *caballerías* in area— have a period of one year in which to liquidate any holdings not compatible with their present status.

Sales of the above-mentioned sugar plantations shall take place after prior approval by the National Agrarian Reform Institute, which shall authorize them only when, in the opinion of that body, it is not a question of evading the objectives of the Law.

The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall proceed to enforce this Article at the times and in the manner necessary in order to guarantee normal continuity of production.

*Article 14.*—Likewise, the possession and ownership of rural lands intended for any other type of agricultural and stockraising activities by corporations the shares of which are not registered shall be prohibited.

Nevertheless, corporations that were organized when this Law was promulgated and that possess lands not intended for the growing of sugar cane may continue to utilize them until the excess areas they hold are expropriated and distributed, pursuant to the provisions of this Law, but during that period they may not for any reason convey or transfer the said lands to other corporations.

Once the said excess areas have been expropriated and distributed pursuant to the provisions of this Law, the said corporations may not continue to utilize the lands they hold unless they change their status to that of corporations with registered shares and their stockholders fulfill the conditions set out in Article 13. If the aforementioned corporations do not change their status in the manner indicated, the farms owned by them will be expropriated for the purposes of this Law.

*Article 15.*—Rural property may in the future be acquired only by Cuban citizens or companies formed by Cuban citizens.

Farms not larger than thirty *caballerías* which, in the judgment of the National Agrarian Reform Institute, are suitable for conveyance to foreign companies or entities for industrial or agricultural development considered beneficial to the develop-

ment of the national economy are exempt from the foregoing provision.

In cases of hereditary conveyances of rural properties to heirs who are not Cuban citizens, such properties, regardless of their size, shall be considered to be subject to expropriation for purposes of the Agrarian Reform.

## CHAPTER II

### *Redistribution of Lands and Indemnification of the Owners*

*Article 16.*—An area of two *caballerías* for fertile land, without irrigation, distant from urban centers and devoted to crops of medium economic yield shall be established as a "vital minimum" for a peasant family of five persons.

The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall be the agency charged with establishing and deciding in each case what the necessary "vital minimum" is, starting from the aforesaid base and taking into consideration the average level of annual income it is hoped to attain for each family.

The lands that make up the "vital minimum" shall enjoy the benefits of not being subject to attachment or transfer as referred to in Article 91 of the Organic Law of the Republic.

*Article 17.*—Private lands subject to expropriation under the provisions of this Law and lands of the State shall be transferred undivided to the cooperatives recognized by this Law or distributed among the beneficiaries in parcels no larger than two *caballerías*, without prejudice to the adjustments that the National Agrarian Reform Institute may make in order to determine the "vital minimum" in each case.

All the lands, no matter to whom they may be transferred, shall be subject to payment of the taxes specified by law as a contribution to the public expenses of the nation and of the municipalities.

*Article 18.*—Privately owned lands cultivated by tenant farmers who grow sugar cane, subtenant farmers who grow sugar cane, tenant farmers and subtenant farmers, sharecroppers, or squatters shall be awarded free of charge to the persons that

cultivate them when their area does not exceed the "vital minimum". When the said farmers cultivate lands having an area less than the "vital minimum", the land necessary to complete it shall be awarded to them, provided it is available and the economic and social conditions of the region so permit.

If the lands cultivated in the cases mentioned in the foregoing paragraph exceed the "vital minimum", provided they do not exceed five [*caballerías*], the tenant farmer, subtenant farmer, tenant farmer who cultivates sugar cane, subtenant farmer who cultivates sugar cane, sharecropper, or squatter, shall receive two *caballerías* free of charge after their expropriation by the National Agrarian Reform Institute, and they may purchase from the owner, through a forced sale, the portion owned by him exceeding the area awarded free of charge, up to a limit of five *caballerías*.

*Article 19.*—If parcels of land smaller in area than the "vital minimum" are cultivated personally by their owners, such owners shall also be awarded free of charge the land necessary to bring the size of their holdings up to the "vital minimum", provided the additional land is available and the economic and social conditions of the region so permit.

*Article 20.*—The Regulation of this law shall determine the procedure to be followed in those cases wherein the lands affected are encumbered by some lien.

*Article 21.*—State owned lands that are cultivated by tenant farmers, subtenant farmers, tenant farmers who grow sugar cane, subtenant farmers who grow sugar cane, sharecroppers, or squatters, shall be awarded free of charge to those in possession of them when their area does not exceed the "vital minimum".

If the cultivated lands in the cases mentioned in the foregoing paragraph exceed two *caballerías*, provided they do not exceed five, the tenant farmer, tenant farmer who cultivates sugar cane, subtenant farmer who cultivates sugar cane, sharecroppers, or squatter shall receive free of charge land equivalent in area to the "vital minimum", and may acquire free of charge from the State the portion of their holding that exceeds the "vital minimum".

When the said tenant farmers who cultivate sugar cane, sub-tenant farmers who cultivate sugar cane, tenant farmers, subtenant farmers, sharecroppers, or squatters cultivate lands having an area less than the "vital minimum", they shall be awarded free of charge the land necessary to bring the size of their holdings up to the "vital minimum".

*Article 22.*—The lands that are available for distribution shall, in accordance with the provisions of this Law, be distributed in the following order of priority:

- (a) Farmers who have been dispossessed of the land they were cultivating;
- (b) Farmers residing in the region where the lands to be distributed are located, if they lack land or cultivate only an area less than the "vital minimum";
- (c) Agricultural workers who habitually work and reside on the lands to be distributed;
- (d) Farmers of other regions, if such farmers lack land or have holdings less in area than the "vital minimum", preference being given to those of neighboring regions.
- (e) Agricultural workers of other regions, preference being given to those of neighboring regions;
- (f) Any other person who makes proper application, preference being given to applicants who show that they have knowledge of agricultural matters.

*Article 23.*—Within the groups mentioned in the preceding article the following shall be given preference:

- (a) Veterans of the Rebel Army or dependent members of their families;
- (b) Members of the auxiliary corps of the Rebel Army;
- (c) Victims of the war or the repression of the tyranny;
- (d) Dependent members of the families of persons who have died as a consequence of their participation in the revolutionary struggle against tyranny.

In all cases, heads of families shall have priority.

*Article 24.*—Applications for allotment of land should be prepared on official forms in which shall be set forth the date

or circumstances required by the Regulation or Instructions issued by the National Agrarian Reform Institute.

*Article 25.*—Owners or those in possession as owners of rural properties, the area of which, alone or in the aggregate, exceeds the maximum of thirty *caballerías* set by Article 1 of this Law, and likewise owners or those in possession as owners of farms of lesser extent, when they are totally or partially leased, worked under lease by sugar cane growers, operated by sharecroppers, or held by squatters shall be obliged to submit to the National Agrarian Reform Institute, directly or through the bodies authorized for that purpose, within a period of no more than three months from the date of the promulgation of this Law, the following documents:

- (a) A single copy of the title deeds with the notation of the registration thereof in the Property Registry and that of the payment of the tax on rights to real estate or transmission of property;
- (b) A single copy of the instrument constituting the liens and encumbrances, if any;
- (c) Maps of the farm or farms or a statement that none are available;
- (d) Detailed list of buildings, other structures, corrals, machinery, agricultural implements and fences, stating the kinds thereof;
- (e) A detailed declaration sworn before a notary public or the municipal judge of the place of domicile of the deponent regarding the leases, including leases with sugar cane growers, and sharecropping agreements, and concerning those [portions] occupied by squatters, affecting the farm or farms in question, stating the duration, terms, and prices, and likewise, provided it is possible, regarding the crops, heads of cattle, types of pasture, and approximate production for all items during the last five years on the said farm or farms, and the income derived from the sale of the products during the last preceding year;
- (f) A list of the idle or semi-idle pieces of land which, in

their judgment, are contained in the farm or farms, the excess areas in the said proportion, with a description of their boundaries and an estimate of the value thereof, being indicated, where applicable, on the annexed map or maps;

- (g) In all farms with areas under intensive cultivation and benefitting from the provisions of Article 2 of this Law, the areas that are considered subject to exception by the deponent and the remaining areas subject to the Agrarian Reform shall also be specified, this to be indicated on the annexed maps, if there are such.

Notwithstanding the provisions of this article, starting with the promulgation of this Law, the National Agrarian Reform Institute may order the enforcement of its provisions with respect to the expropriation and distribution of lands, on the basis of the data it has at hand regarding privately owned lands that exceed the established limits.

*Article 26.*—Owners who fail to submit the documents referred to in the preceding article and/or make false statements in the sworn declaration or alter the said documents in any way shall forfeit the right to the indemnity provided by this Law, without prejudice to the criminal liability they may have incurred.

*Article 27.*—The authorities charged with the enforcement of this Law, with reference to the documents mentioned in Article 26, shall immediately proceed to make the pertinent investigations in order to verify the truth of the statement made therein within a period of ninety days counting from the date when the document was filed, and shall issue such resolutions as may be necessary in order to proceed with the distribution of the lands and the delivery of the corresponding titles of ownership to the beneficiary peasants.

*Article 28.*—After the resolutions awarding the parcels distributed to their beneficiaries have become final, they shall be recorded in the Rural Property Section of the Property Registries established by this Law. Each beneficiary shall be given his corresponding title deed with such formalities as may be established

by the regulations of this Law. For purposes of the provisions of Article 3 of the Mortgage Law, the resolutions referred to in the preceding paragraph and which may be issued by the National Agrarian Reform Institute shall be considered to be registrable titles.

*Article 29.*—The constitutional right of owners affected by this Law to receive indemnization for the property expropriated shall be recognized. This indemnization shall be determined by taking into consideration the sale value of farms as shown by the municipal assessment statements dated prior to October 10, 1958. The improvements and structures on the farms that may be affected shall be subject of an independent appraisal made by the authorities charged with the enforcement of this Law. Likewise, an independent appraisal shall be made of the value of the stalks of the [sugar cane] crops in order to recompense their legitimate owners.

*Article 30.*—In cases in which it is not possible to determine the value in the manner provided for in the preceding article, the appraisal of the property affected shall be made by the National Agrarian Reform Institute in the manner, and through the use of the procedure, prescribed by the Regulations of this Law.

In making the appraisals and pursuant to the provisions of Article 224 of the Organic Law, there shall be appraised and deducted from the fixed value the increment produced without effort on the part of labor or private capital and solely by reason of the action taken by the State, the Province, the Municipality, or autonomous bodies, counted from the time of the last transfer of the property and produced before this Law went into effect. Forty-five percent of the unearned increment, which, pursuant to the said constitutional provision, belongs to the State, shall be transferred to the National Agrarian Reform Institute, and the Province, Municipality, or autonomous body shall be given the proportional part due it.

The deductions that are made in favor of the National Agrarian Reform Institute shall be held for the benefit of the peasants who receive lands free of charge in the proper proportion



and the remainder, if any, shall be paid into the Agrarian Reform Fund to be used according to law

These provisions shall also apply at all auctions and forced sales of rural properties that are registrable in the manner specified in the Regulation of this Law.

*Article 31.*—The indemnity shall be paid in redeemable bonds. To that end an issue of Republic of Cuba bonds shall be floated in such amount, and under such terms and conditions, as may be fixed in due time. The bonds shall be called "Agrarian Reform Bonds" and shall be considered public securities. The issue or issues shall be floated for a period of twenty years, with annual interest not exceeding four and one-half percent [4½%]. The proper amount for the payment of interest, amortization, and expenses in connection with the issue shall be included each year in the Budget of the Republic.

*Article 32.*—The holders of Agrarian Reform Bonds, or the amount thereof, shall be granted ten year exemption from the Personal Income Tax on income derived from investing these bonds in new industries. It shall be the duty of the Minister of the Treasury to submit to the Council of Ministers a bill regulating such exemption.

The same right shall be granted the heirs of the person indemnified in case they should be the ones who make such investment.

### CHAPTER III

#### *Redistributed Agricultural Property*

*Article 33.*—Property received free of charge pursuant to the provisions of this Law may not become part of the assets of civil or mercantile companies, except for community property [of husband and wife] and the farmers' cooperatives referred to in Chapter V of this Law.

*Article 34.*—The properties referred to in the preceding article [acquired] by virtue of the provisions of this Law may not be transferred other than through inheritance, sale to the State, or exchange authorized by the authorities charged with its enforce-

ment, nor be the subject of lease agreements, sharecropping agreements, usufruct, or mortgage.

Nevertheless, the State or the competent quasi-governmental bodies may grant such owners loans secured by mortgages, and financing or secured loans.

*Article 35.*—The new properties shall be kept as indivisible units of real estate and in case of transfer through inheritance, they must be awarded to a single heir in the distribution of property. In case such award cannot be made without violating the rules of hereditary distribution set forth in the Civil Code, they shall be sold at public auction to bidders who are peasants or agricultural workers, the right of redemption in the manner specified in Article 1067 of the Civil Code being reserved to the heirs entitled by law to a fixed portion of the estate, if there are such heirs, and provided they are peasants or agricultural workers.

*Article 36.*—The ownership and possession of lands awarded under the provisions of this Law shall be governed by the rules pertaining to community property in cases of extramarital unions of a stable nature in which persons with legal capacity to contract marriage have been living together on the land for a period of not less than one year.

### CHAPTER IV

#### *Agrarian Development Zones*

*Article 37.*—The Agrarian Development Zones shall be composed of the continuous and defined portions of the national territory in which, by a resolution of the National Agrarian Reform Institute, the said territory is divided for the purpose of facilitating the implementation of the Reform.

*Article 38.*—Each Agrarian Development Zone, by resolution of the same body, may be subdivided into sections in order to facilitate the work of determining the boundaries and managing allotments and distribution as progress is made in the operations directed toward carrying out this work.

*Article 39.*—The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall

identify each Agrarian Development Zone by a numerical series with an initial referring to the province in which it is situated.

*Article 40.*—For purposes of setting up an Agrarian Development Zone and effecting redistribution or awarding of the lands, the National Agrarian Reform Institute shall take the following into consideration:

1. The area best suited to facilitate the work of real estate registration, population census, agrological studies, and surveying;
2. The agrological characteristics, the advisable production, and the facilities for improving exploitation, storage, conservation, and sale;
3. Population centers or settlements located in each zone with respect to facilities for local supplying in connection with State aid centers and the establishment and functioning of peasant farmers' associations, cooperatives, and Local Police stations;
4. Hydrological resources for supplying water and community irrigation installations under a system of water rights or cooperation;
5. The facilities for economic development and the application of technology through the development of small, supplementary rural industries or the promotion of industrial centers near the sources of raw materials and centers of distribution of the products;
6. The existing communication facilities and means of dissemination of information, news, and ideas in general, as well as the possibilities, if any, of creating them.

*Article 41.*—In each Agrarian Development Zone, the State shall create, with the cooperation of the heads of families or the agrarian cooperatives established therein, State aid centers supplied with agricultural machinery, equipment, granaries, storehouses, warehouses, means of transportation, fields for experimentation and breeding, aqueducts, power plants, and other aids required under plans for agrarian and industrial development; and likewise [provision shall be made] for the establishment of schools, with rooming and boarding facilities, for general education and

training in agriculture, rural maternity homes, first-aid stations, dispensaries for medical and dental care, recreation rooms, libraries, athletic fields, and all the means for aiding production and culture.

*Article 42.*—Each Agrarian Development Zone will be considered an administrative unit of the Agrarian Reform and will be recorded in the proper book, together with all the data pertaining to it, and it will be taken into consideration for purposes of allotment of lands and determination of those who shall be subject to the Agrarian Reform and of those excluded from it.

Likewise in organizing statistical services and taking an agricultural census every five years, consideration shall, for purposes of analysis, be given to the units of production and administration represented by Agrarian Development Zones in order to test and compare the results of the Agrarian Reform and to adopt the most suitable measures for eliminating difficulties and facilitating general progress.

## CHAPTER V

### *Agrarian Cooperation*

*Article 43.*—Whenever possible the National Agrarian Reform Institute will promote agrarian cooperatives. The agrarian cooperatives organized by the National Agrarian Reform Institute on lands available to it under the provisions of this Law shall be under its direction, and it shall reserve the right to appoint the managers thereof for the purpose of ensuring their better development during the initial stage of this type of economic and social organization and until greater autonomy is granted it by law.

*Article 44.*—The National Agrarian Reform Institute will give its support only to agrarian cooperatives formed by peasants or agricultural workers for the purpose of utilizing the soil and harvesting its products through the personal efforts of their members, pursuant to the internal regulations laid down by the said Institute. In the case of these cooperatives, the National Agrarian Reform Institute shall see to it that they are located on land suitable for the purposes pursued and that they are wil-

ling to accept the aid and follow the guidance of the said Institute in technical matters.

*Article 45.*—Other forms of cooperation may include one or more of the purposes in connection with material resources, methods of work, credit, sales, preservation of products, structures to be used in common, installations, dams, irrigated lands, industrial uses of by-products and residues, and such facilities and useful methods as may lead to the improvement of the cooperatives in accordance with the regulations, decisions, and instruction issued by the National Agrarian Reform Institute.

*Article 46.*—The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall mobilize all the funds necessary for the development of the cooperatives, providing for those purposes long-term credits which shall be amortized at a minimum rate of interest. The Institute shall also provide short-term credits for the operation of the cooperatives, adopting financing systems suited to the economic prospects of the enterprises and always from the beginning guaranteeing an adequate income to the family.

*Article 47.*—The National Agrarian Reform Institute will also determine annually the share of resources that is due each Agrarian Development Zone.

## CHAPTER VI

### *The National Agrarian Reform Institute*

*Article 48.*—The National Agrarian Reform Institute [Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria, abbreviated INRA] is hereby created as an autonomous entity with its own juridical personality, for the purpose of applying and enforcing this Law.

The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall be governed by a President and an Executive Director, who shall be appointed by the Council of Ministers.

The powers and functions of the National Agrarian Reform Institute shall be as follows:

1. To make studies, to order investigations, to order and put into practice whatever measures are necessary in order to attain the objectives of the Law, issuing to that end pertinent regulations and general and special instructions;

2. To propose to the Ministry of the Treasury such tax measures for stimulating saving or consumption as may be deemed adequate for promoting the development of the production of articles derived from agriculture and stock-raising;
3. To propose the margin of tariff protection required in each case for better development of products derived from agriculture and stockraising;
4. To coordinate the campaigns for improving the housing, health, and education of the rural population;
5. To determine the areas and boundaries of the Agrarian Development Zones which it decides to establish and organize;
6. To direct the preliminary studies for the distribution and awarding of lands subject to this Law, installations for State aid, the administrative set-up of each Zone, and conveyance of the lands and the deeds thereto to the beneficiaries;
7. To see to the implementation of the plans for agrarian development, awarding or distribution of lands, both with respect to the internal administration of each zone and with respect to the purposes of the Law, issuing such instructions and adopting such resolutions and measures as it may deem necessary;
8. To draft the regulations of the agricultural cooperative associations that it organizes and to appoint managers thereof, pursuant to the provisions of Article 43, to keep records and to decide questions that may arise between their members, and to take cognizance of and to decide appeals that, pursuant to the regulations, are brought as a result of opposition to resolutions or measures adopted;
9. To organize and direct the Cooperative-Training School;
10. To handle and decide, under the terms of this Law, all applications or suggestions that may be addressed to it in connection with resettlement [of agricultural workers], awards, distribution, management, and other aspects of the

Reform; classifying the applications submitted for obtaining the benefits thereof;

11. To draw up its budgets and to administer its funds, as well as those intended for implementing the Agrarian Reform;
12. To organize its own statistical services and the five-year agricultural census, compiling and publishing the results thereof for purposes of general information;
13. To organize its own offices and to issue the necessary internal regulations and to establish relations with the departments of the State, the province, the municipalities, autonomous bodies and quasi-state organizations, agrarian commissions, agrarian and industrial delegations and associations in general;
14. To establish and direct its permanent relations with such international associations as may be advisable.

*Article 49.*—The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall establish a department of credit for agricultural development. In turn, the Agricultural Division of the Agricultural and Industrial Development Bank of Cuba shall coordinate its credit policy with the directives of the National Agrarian Reform Institute.

*Article 50.*—The State shall provide the National Agrarian Reform Institute with resources for the establishment of units for the development of agricultural and livestock production throughout the country. Those units shall consist of:

- (a) An Equipment and Machinery Center. The said center shall, for a moderate price, provide the services of the equipment and machinery, lease it to farmers, also at a moderate price, or facilitate its purchase by farmers.
- (b) A Research Center for experimentation of an agronomical or zootechnic nature.
- (c) A Technical Advisory Center for consultation by farmers.

*Article 51.*—All the autonomous organization in existence on the date of the promulgation of this Law, organized for the stabilization, regulation, advertising, and protection of agricultural production, will be incorporated into the National Agrarian Reform Institute as sections of its Department of Production and Foreign Trade.

*Article 52.*—The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall have local delegations charged with the enforcement of this Law in the areas assigned to them.

The National Agrarian Reform Institute will regulate the functions of the Local Committees.

*Article 53.*—The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall within sixty days from the date on which it is organized, submit to the Council of Ministers the draft regulations of execution of this Law.

## CHAPTER VII

### *Land Courts*

*Article 54.*—Land Courts shall be established to hear and decide suits at law arising from the application of this Law and of others in connection with agricultural contracts and rural property in general.

The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall, within a period of three months after the promulgation of this Law, prepare a draft Organic Law covering the said Courts.

## CHAPTER VIII

### *Preservation of Forests and Conservation of Soil*

*Article 55.*—The State shall set aside, on the lands owned by it, forested and wooded areas necessary for national parks for the purpose of maintaining and developing forest resources. Those who have become owners of lands pursuant to this Law must observe the forestry laws and in growing their crops, must take measures to ensure proper conservation of the soil. Owners who violate these provisions shall lose the right to the property acquired from the State free of charge; the amount corresponding to the damage caused [by negligence] shall be deducted from the indemnities to which such owners may be entitled for improvements.

## CHAPTER IX

### *General Provisions*

*Article 56.*—State-owned lands occupied by tenant farmers, subtenant farmers, tenant farmers who cultivate sugar cane, sub-

tenant farmers who cultivate sugar cane, sharecroppers, or squatters shall, to the extent that they exceed five "*caballerías*", be subject to distribution pursuant to the provisions of this Law, after the possessors or holders thereof have been indemnified for the improvements made on the said excess lands.

*Article 57.*—The preferential purchase right granted to the State by Article 89 of the Organic Law of the Republic, that is the right to acquire real property or securities, shall be exercised by the National Agrarian Reform Institute, insofar as rural property is concerned.

The Institute shall exercise said right within sixty days from the date on which it is notified of the pertinent decision of the Court, official or authority before whom the sale or forced public sale of rural property is to be held.

To that end, the judges, courts, and other officials that take part in public sales or forced transfers of rural property or securities shall, when the time is reached for making the award to a bidder, suspend the proceedings and give notice by means of an official communication to the National Agrarian Reform Institute, with a description of the property involved and the procedure followed, so that said Institute may within the time-limit indicated exercise the right of prior purchase on behalf of the State.

If the time-limit has expired without the Institute exercising said right or informing the official that the Institute will not exercise it, proceedings shall take the proper legal course.

In the case of an auction or forced sale of rural property subject to the provisions of this Law, the National Agrarian Reform Institute may make payment in securities, as provided for in Article 31.

*Article 58.*—Tenant farmers, subtenant farmers, and squatters on rural property intended exclusively for recreational or residential purposes shall be excluded from the benefits of this Law.

*Article 59.*—Regardless of the disposition of the property subject to this Law, contracts for grinding sugar cane and the right

of the farms to grinding quotas shall be maintained in full force, and they shall be apportioned among the new owners according to the quota corresponding to the parcel assigned to them in the distribution.

The distribution of grinding quotas referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be effected with the adjustments necessary to guarantee, in each case, the protection that the laws in force grant to small tenant farmers who grow sugar cane. The National Agrarian Reform Institute will adopt the necessary measures to guarantee the sugar mills the supply of sugar cane required for grinding.

*Article 60.*—In all cases in which public sales of rural properties result from failure to fulfill financing-loan contracts or mortgage-loan contracts, any heirs of the debtor, provided they have been working on the farm sold, shall have the right of redemption; they may exercise said right within a period of one month from the date of the registration of the property.

*Article 61.*—In the event of the death of a presumed beneficiary, prior to or during the exercise of the rights recognized by this Law, possession of the property shall be considered transferred to the heirs without delay as set forth in Article 440 of the Civil Code. The right of protection may be secured by an injunction as set forth in Order 362 of 1900 even though the interruption or dispossession may have been caused by decision of an administrative authority.

*Article 62.*—Dispossession from the lands being used by the presumed beneficiaries recognized in the present Law shall be prohibited while the lands subject to the Agrarian Reform are in process of distribution.

*Article 63.*—In cases of testate or natural succession in which the estate consists of one or more rural properties which on January 1, 1959, had not been divided, these properties shall be considered subject to the purpose of this Law as if they were the patrimony of a single juridical person.

*Article 64.*—It is the interpretation of this Law that in case of doubt, the decision should be in favor of the person working the land. This interpretation will also apply to cases in which the

farmer brings suit to recover ownership or possession of the land or rights inherent in his status as a peasant.

*Article 65.*—Any act or contract that evades the provisions of this Law by defeating its purposes through illegal transfer, conveyances, setting aside, or merger, shall be considered null and void.

The following shall be without legal force or effect for purposes of application of the present Law: sales, setting aside or alienation of any nature effected after January 1, 1959, in favor of relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity, or the second degree of affinity, as well as the divisions of joint ownership brought about by such relatives.

Transfers made, commencing from the aforementioned date, in favor of stockholders or partners of companies of any kind who may be relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity or the second degree of affinity shall also be without legal value and effect for purposes of application of the present Law.

Commencing with the promulgation of the present Law, the transfers, setting aside or divisions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs will be considered null and void, even though not made between the aforementioned relatives.

*Article 66.*—Any practice contrary to the purposes of this Law, or the abandonment or negligent use of the lands granted pursuant to its terms is punishable by the National Agrarian Reform Institute by rescinding the transfer thereof, without cost and ordering the return of them to the land reserves. The application of this Article will be governed by the Regulations of this Law.

*Article 67.*—Tenant farmers, subtenant farmers, tenant farmers who cultivate sugar cane, subtenant farmers who cultivate sugar cane, and squatters who cultivate areas of land greater in extent than five *caballerías*, whether or not subject to expropriation, may acquire up to thirty *caballerías*, after evaluation by the National Agrarian Reform Institute, through forced sale in accordance with the procedure to be established by the Regulation of this Law, and provided they can show unequivocal proof of pos-

session and can prove unequivocally that they were utilizing the aforementioned lands before January 1, 1959.

In the case of tenant farmers, subtenant farmers, tenant farmers who grow sugar cane, subtenant farmers who grow sugar cane, and squatters who possess and cultivate areas greater than thirty *caballerías*, this Law shall be applied pursuant to the provisions set out in Article 1 and Article 2.

#### *Transitory Provisions*

First: The National Agrarian Reform Institute and the Ministry in charge of the Drafting and Study of the Revolutionary Laws shall submit to the Council of Ministers, within a period of six months subsequent to the date of promulgation of this Law, a bill regulating the Rural Property Section of the Property Registers. Until the said section is organized, registrations affecting rural property shall be made in the manner and in the books provided for by the Laws now in effect. Registrations that are made on behalf of the beneficiaries of the Agrarian Reform shall be free of charge.

Second: Eviction proceedings or other proceedings that have to do with dispossession of rural property shall be suspended in their present stage. If verdict has been handed down the judicial authorities handling the proceedings must notify the National Agrarian Reform Institute pending a decision as to the rights that this Law grants to the tenants.

When the rights of the defendants or tenants have been proved in the proceedings, the authorities handling the proceedings shall order that the record be filed without further action. In case the Institute should report that the defendants or tenants are not protected by the benefits of this Law, the proceedings thus suspended pursuant to the Law shall be continued.

Third: Appointment of officials contrary to the procedure [heretofore prescribed], delegating them with duties related to the Agrarian Reform, shall be null and void.

Fourth: Until such time as the Land Courts referred to in Article 54 of this Law are organized, the regular Courts shall continue to take cognizance of the cases assigned to them.

Fifth: Until such time as the Regulations of this Law become effective, they shall be carried out by resolutions of the National Agrarian Reform Institute.

Sixth: Within the six months following the promulgation of this Law, the National Agrarian Reform Institute shall submit to the Council of Ministers a bill regulating the admission of the Autonomous Bodies referred to in Article 51 of this Law.

Seventh: Within two years after this Law becomes effective the utilization of all privately-owned lands, regardless of their area, must begin. After the said period has elapsed those privately-owned lands not in production will be subject to the purposes of the Agrarian Reform, as set out in this Law.

#### *Final Provisions*

First: Ownership of the summit of Pico Turquino shall be reserved to the State and be available to the Rebel Army, together with a strip of land running West therefrom, having a length of one thousand five hundred meters, on which shall be erected [a tourist hotel] The Rebel Lodge, a Botanical Garden, and a small museum to recall the struggle against tyranny and to aid in keeping alive loyalty to the principles of the veterans of the Rebel Army.

Second: The provisions of the present Law are declared to be in the public and the national interest, in as much as this Law ensures the development of large areas of rural property, the economic development of the Nation, intensive agricultural and industrial operations, and an adequate redistribution of land among a large number of small property owners and farmers.

Third: A Rural-Property Section is hereby established in the present Property Registers. All registrations covering rural property shall be made in the books of this Section, commencing on the date fixed by the Law that regulates its functioning.

Fourth: The National Agrarian Reform Institute shall coordinate its functions with those of the Revolutionary Army.

#### *Additional Final Provisions*

In exercise of the constituent power vested in the Council of Ministers the present Law is declared to be an integral part of the Organic Law of the Republic, which is thereby supplemented.

Accordingly, this Law is hereby given constitutional force and effect.

*Therefore:* I order that all parts of the present Law be implemented and enforced.

Enacted in La Plata, Sierra Maestra, on May 17, 1959, "Year of the Liberation."

MANUEL URRUTIA LLEO,  
*President of the Republic.*

FIDEL CASTRO RUZ,  
*Prime Minister.*

Roberto Agramonte Pichardo, *Alfredo Yabur Maluf,*  
Minister of State. Minister of Justice.

Luis Orlando Rodríguez, *Rufo López Fresquet,*  
Minister of the Interior. Minister of Finance.

Manuel Ray Rivero, *Humberto Sorí Marín,*  
Minister of Public Works. Minister of Agriculture.

Raúl Cepero Bonilla, *Manuel Fernández García,*  
Minister of Commerce. Minister of Labor.

Armando Hart Dávalos, *Dr. Julio Martínez Páez,*  
Minister of Education. Minister of Public Health.

Elena Mederos Cabañas, *Enrique Oltuski Ozacki,*  
Minister of Social Welfare. Minister of Communications.

Julio Camacho Aguilera, *Augusto R. Martínez Sánchez,*  
Minister in charge of the Minister of National Defense.  
National Transportation  
Corporation.

*Faustino Pérez Hernández,*  
Minister for the Recovery  
of Misapplied Assets.

*Oswaldo Dorticós Torrado,*  
Minister in charge of Drafting  
and Study of Revolutionary  
Laws and Minister in charge  
of the Nat. Economic Council.

*Luis H. Buch Rodríguez,*  
Secretary to the President and to the Council of Ministers.





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*Fidel Castro*

*Speaks to the  
Children*

IMPRESO POR  
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## INTRODUCTION

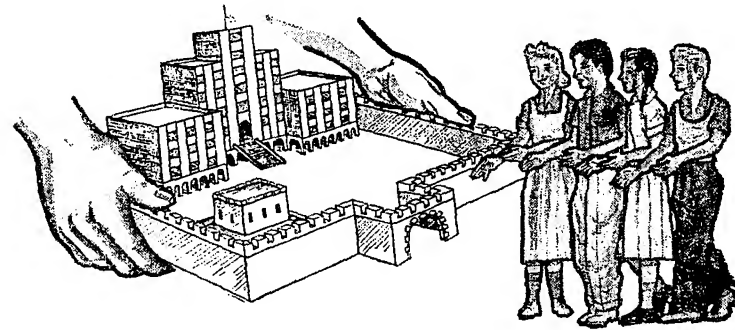
In a speech he made October 16, 1953, to the judges who sent him to prison for his first attempt to free his country from dictatorship, Fidel Castro told them he thought the main military fortress of Cuba should be converted into a school.

After he left prison and after, finally, his Revolution won, Fidel Castro became Prime Minister of Cuba. Then he **did** take the soldiers out of the fortress, and he gave it to the children for a wonderful big school.

This is the speech he made to the thousands of children who came to the fortress September 14th, for the ceremony when he gave them the fortress.

\* \* \*

In the name of the children of Cuba his words have been translated into English so that they may be understood and enjoyed by the English-speaking children of the world.



Student friends:

I know it is a little late, and that you have already been standing here for hours. So I am going to speak briefly. I just want to let you know some of the things that I feel at this moment.

For a long time—and I want you to hear this—we have been looking forward to this occasion. Of all that we have done and of all of the public meetings we have attended since we began the struggle of our Revolution there has never been a moment happier for us than this one. Let me tel' you why.

This assembly of Cuban children with us today is the most beautiful ceremony that has been held since we began our Revolution because it means that you are not going to have to live as we had to live. It means that you are not going to suffer what we suffered.

When we were children, we could never come here to this fortress. We only knew that thousands of soldiers were garrisoned here—armed men who committed the worst abuses, the worst injustices.

We never had the privilege of seeing inside a military fortress. We wondered what military fortresses were for. We asked ourselves why there were so many soldiers in here, why there were so many companies and so many regiments, what did it all mean, what were these soldiers trying to do, what was their purpose?

We, who were once children like you, were given an opportunity to find out the purpose of those soldiers. To find out we had to suffer.

All of us are against injustice and abuse. Nobody approves when one of the bigger boys at school mistreats one of the little ones. Nobody approves when the stronger ones at school take advantage of the weaker ones.

Everybody despises anyone who tries to impose his will by bullying.

Bullying is what used to take place all over our country. The strong—because they had weapons in their hands—constantly abused the people who were weak. So we were expressing the deepest wish of all of us when, one day, while we were speaking about the way those soldiers behaved, we made the promise that someday we would change Columbia Headquarters into a school.

It was not easy to take over this fortress. Thousands of rebels died in the attempt. To overcome this fortress cost a lot of blood, many battles and many lives.



At the beginning it seemed impossible. We were a small group. This fortress was full of cannons, full of tanks, full of soldiers, full of guns. Nobody believed that we, who were just a few, would someday overcome this gigantic military camp that was a symbol of strength and a symbol of the dictatorship.

However we had faith and we are gathered here today with you because we had faith. It was necessary to struggle greatly. It was necessary to win many battles. But we knew that we would win them because right was on our side and because we were defending a just cause.

That is how finally one day the rebel troops entered Columbia after having beaten the forces of the dictatorship. And we are keeping our promise today. What do we want fortresses for, fortresses surrounding the city? What we need are schools. What we need are athletic camps. What we need is for all the world to live without fear so that everybody can live in peace.

What we always wanted to happen is happening today. That is to say, we always wanted to get rid of this fortress, but we were not able to see our dream come true, when we were as young as you are. Many young people who were students like you had to give their lives for this victory. That is why your greatest

thanks should always go to those of our rebels who died in the struggle. Your greatest reverence must be for the rebels who died, for the rebels who died in order to make a reality of this dream of someday changing Columbia Military Camp into a scholastic center.



We had first intended to make a college campus but we have come to the conclusion that it would be better to create an Institute of Science and Technology—a center of learning to teach engineers, to train experts who will know about factories and who will acquire from engineering, physics, and chemistry all the technical and scientific knowledge necessary to industrialize our country.

We have many things to do and nevertheless we fail at some of them. Do you know why? Because we do not have enough well trained people. Many things turn out badly for us. Do you know why? Because we do not have people who know how to do things well. Do you know why we do not have people trained well enough? Because nobody ever took the trouble to train them. Many of you children are very poor today. Many of you are poorly dressed. The parents of many of you have hardly enough money to buy food, and the blame for all this belongs to those who did not take the trouble to educate our people and to work for the good of our people.

You children are suffering the consequences of all the neglect in which the people of our nation have lived. However you will not suffer many things that we have suffered because we are going to educate you so that things will turn our right in the future.

Do you believe that we are doing well?

[Children: "Yes, Yes."]

Well, I don't think so. The reason is that we do not know the things that you are going to know tomorrow since nobody taught us what we are going to teach to you.

There are many rebels who are fine boys, marvelous soldiers and very brave, who learned how to win battles and won them, but who had never been able to go to school.

Right now many of those **barbudos** that you admire so much have to do just what you are doing—that is, study, because they did not have the good fortune to go to school when they were your age.

You are certain to do things tomorrow better than we do now. We had to bear many blows, to stand up under a lot of abuse and to endure terrible things. Now we have great dreams and ideas but we can not do all the things that we want to do because there are not enough people trained to help us. That is why we are so interested that you should do things tomorrow better than we do.

Do you believe that the revolutionary reconstruction and reform of Cuba is finished now?

[Children: "No."]

Then if it is not yet finished, who is going to finish it?

[Children: "We are."]

You are the ones who must rebuild and reform Cuba.

Do you want to be good patriotic citizens?

[Children: "Yes, Yes."]

Then what is the first thing you must do?

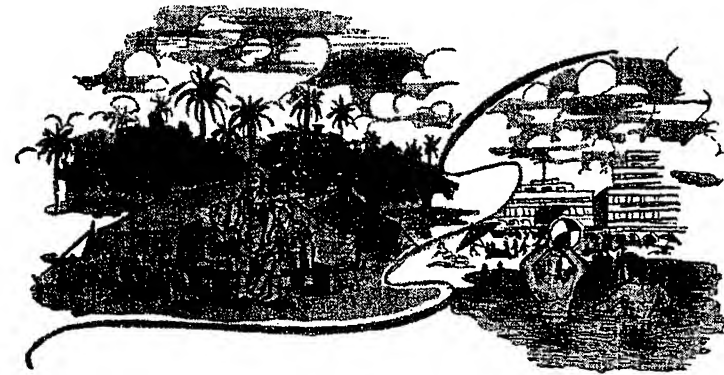
[Children: "Study."]

Yes. Study! Any child who does **not** study is not a good citizen, because any child who does not study will not know how to do things well, and he will have the same trouble we are having. In other words, the things he tries to do will not turn out as well as he wants them to.

Any child who does not study is not a good citizen. If you want to help Cuba, if you want to help us who were rebels, if you want to help your country, you must study. Anybody who doesn't know how to do things well will be unable to help anybody else. He will make mistakes, and even though he **wants** to do things well, he will be unable to do them because he will not know how.

I want all you children to play games. I want you to have athletic fields. I want you to have beaches so you can enjoy yourselves and to make excursions to the country. But I want you to study, also. To study is not unpleasant.

[Children: "No."]



Then why are you happier when I speak about going to the beach than when I speak about studying. In history haven't you read the life of Maceo, and about all the battles that Maceo won?

[Children: "Yes."]

Haven't you read the life of Martí and about all the sacrifices that he made, about how kind, how generous and how noble he was?

[Children: "Yes."]

Don't you like to read the story of what the Cubans had to do in order to be free?

[Children: "Yes."]

You enjoy that, don't you? History is interesting, isn't it?

[Children: "Yes."]

Wouldn't you like to visit all the places where the rebels fought?

[Children: "Yes."]

Wouldn't you like to visit the Sierra Maestra?

[Children: "Yes."]

Why? To learn, isn't that right? To see. Well that is why we study. To learn and to see.

Wouldn't you like to go to Zapata Swamp and to Treasure Lake?

[Children: "Yes."]

Well, all that is in books too. The Sierra Maestra, Treasure Lakes, Viñales Valley, the caves, the rivers, the mountains, the bays and all of Nature. It is all in books.

When we take you to Viñales Valley, if you have not studied and if you have not heard about Viñales Valley, you won't enjoy it. It would be the same as taking some child to the Sierra Maestra if he had never heard of the Sierra Maestra. He would not find the Sierra Maestra interesting because he would not know what took place there, who used to be there, what those who used to be there did there, nor why.

We who sometimes wasted time when we were in school, sometimes come to a river and we don't know what river it is, because we have forgotten and we must have forgotten because we didn't study well.

If you want to enjoy life, you must study. You must study, because if you don't study, you won't understand anything.



Have you heard about our farmer's aid program—the Land Reform?

[Children: "Yes."]

Are you in favor of it?

[Children: "Yes."]



Well, if you don't know how to plant a seed or why a seed grows or how a seed can produce more or less, and if you don't study the rain, plants and other natural science subjects you won't be able to understand the Land Reform.

If you don't study arithmetic, you won't be able to understand the Land Reform, either. Also, if you fail to learn grammar and then someday you have a good idea to suggest to us and you don't know how to write it correctly, we will open a letter that is poorly written and we may not pay enough attention to you.

If you want to understand the revolutionary reform of Cuba and if you want to understand all the things that we speak about, you must study literature. You must study **everything** because every chapter in your books is there for a good reason, not just to keep you busy as we ourselves sometimes used to think. We used to think that botany was a bore and arithmetic was a big nuisance because we did not realize that these subjects were important for us.

It should not be necessary to force any of you to study. All of you should want to study because anybody who doesn't study won't be able to enjoy life fully.

Any child who can spend all his time amusing himself will not enjoy himself the day that he has vacation

because he will have been vacationing constantly. When he gets to the end of the school term and has three months to travel, to ride horseback, to go to the beach, and to go sightseeing, then he will not enjoy himself.

Imagine a boy going to the zoo every day of the year. He would become so accustomed to see the zoo that it would no longer appeal to him. A boy who is on vacation every day cannot enjoy himself Saturday and Sunday because Saturdays and Sundays are the same as any other day of the week for him. The same thing will be true of the summer vacation, and as a result he will know nothing, he will not be able to help anybody, and he will not be a good patriotic citizen.

Anybody who refuses to study is not patriotic and cannot be one of us nor help us, because we all have a lot of important things to do and in order to do them it is necessary to learn **how** to do them.



If you study, we will take you to have a good time in the summer and on your vacations. We will build ball parks and stadiums for basket-ball and volley-ball and all the other sports fields that you want. If you study we will also take you to the Sierra Maestra.

If you study we will make beaches for you so that you can have a good time on your vacations. If you study we will give you all the books that you need.

Keep in mind that many children out in the country do not have the good fortune to be able to go to school. There are many children who still do not know their ABC's. Although they are as old as you are, they still do not know how to read and write. So is it fair for any child **not** to study when he **can** go to school, and when a teacher is paid to teach him, and when he is given books?

It is very sad that some boys waste the opportunity to learn while there are children in the country who still have not had the chance to go to school at all. But we are going to take care of this problem. We are going to take care of it, thanks to the teachers. We have ten thousand teachers who are going to help us by teaching four hundred thousand children who have not had schools.

During all the last fifty years the Government built only five thousand schools for the country children. Do you know how many we are going to build in a year? Ten thousand schools!



We are going to teach those neglected children to read and write. And we are going to teach them agriculture and botany and electricity and all the other subjects they need so that tomorrow they can be good citizens and can build up their country and can help others.

Remember if it were not for the way the rebels struggled, if it were not for all that the rebels endured, these four hundred thousand children would not have teachers now. If it were not for the rebels who died,

those four hundred thousand children would not have teachers and today on the 4th of September there would have been a big parade here at Camp Columbia with tanks and airplanes. Instead of children there would be soldiers here. These grounds would be full of soldiers and full of tanks and the people passing by in the street would be worried, worried that they might be shot at from here and that they might be mistreated from here.

When you used to come down Columbia Avenue what did you think? Did you look over this way?

**[Children: "No."]**

Why not? Because the people in here were bullies and you believed that you might be victims of some kind of abuse and besides you despised the soldiers because they were bullies. Now when you come down here, do you look in?

**[Children: "Yes."]**

Why? Because this place belongs to you now.

This place belongs to you because our Army belongs to you. Its purpose is to protect you children, not to bully you nor your parents nor your families.

All the children of Cuba can go to our schools even though their fathers may have been some of those soldiers who used to be here in this camp. They can go to our schools even if their fathers committed crimes and even if their fathers killed somebody.

Those children are not to blame for that. You know yourselves that the children themselves are innocent. At school even though some child may be the son of one of the soldiers from before, he should be treated as a brother. Any child so unfortunate as to have had a father who committed crimes is not to blame for that. The child is a victim himself.

At school you must not have bitter feelings toward any of your classmates, because all children are innocent.



If their families at home speak bad about us and speak against the Cuban Revolutionary Reform you must win them over with friendliness, not with contempt.

I mentioned how the people of Cuba used to come by and see a fortress here where now they will see a scholastic center. Cuba is the only country in the world

that has been able to do this—to conquer a military fortress and convert it into a school. What do we need fortresses for? What we need are institutions of learning.

If it should become necessary to fight to defend the Cuban Revolutionary Reform, who would defend it? Everybody. Now there are more soldiers than there used to be, because all our citizens are defenders of the Cuban Revolutionary Reform. There used to be thirty thousand soldiers in Cuba. Now we have six million defenders of our revolutionary reform because it is supported by children, old people, farmers, laborers, students and teachers.

All our civilians can be counted as soldiers of the revolutionary reform. Now it is really true that this fortress will never be seized by anybody else. This is no longer the headquarters of a gang of bullies. It is the fortress of the Cuban people. In order to change this place back into what it used to be it would be necessary to defeat six million Cubans at war.

That is why we feel safe. Because this place is defended by the entire nation. The fortress was overcome by civilians. None of us rebels even had a gun when we began fighting against the dictatorship. We had to take guns away from Batista's soldiers. When we were

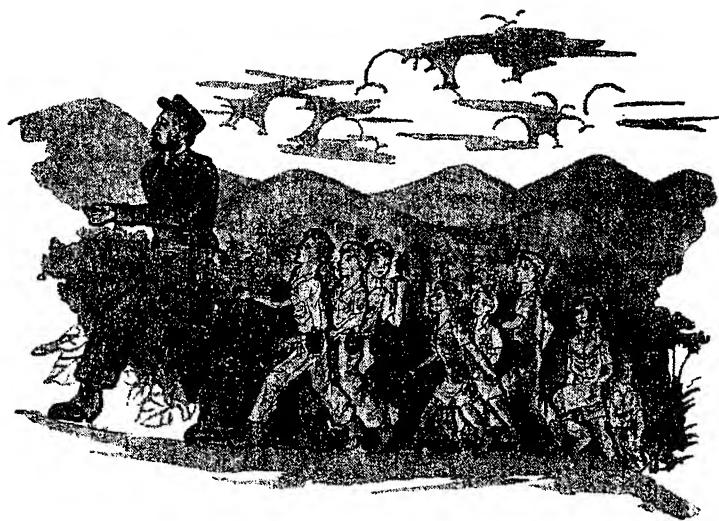
still civilians like all of you we rebels had to get our weapons that way. So it was the civilian people who beat the military men at war because the military men were supporting a wrongful cause.

And all this was accomplished, as I said before, by those who sacrificed themselves.

You must understand that if you want to help others you must study and you must work. You must make the most of your time in school.

In exchange for all that we have done for you, in exchange for this fortress that we are turning over to you today and for all the others that we are going to turn over to you, in exchange for the beaches that we are going to give you and for everything else we are going to do for you children, there is only one thing that we want from you and that is that you should study.

We always keep our promises. I hope that you children will also keep your promise of studying. A little work every day! The students who are most outstanding will be given awards and prizes. We are going to send the outstanding students on vacation and we are going to send them to the Sierra Maestra. We are going to build camps where you can put up tents. But you must climb the hills!



**[Children: "Yes."]**

So the more you study, the more of these advantages you will have. The more you study the more you can enjoy yourselves and the more you will be able to help your country.

Remember: any child who does not study is not a patriotic citizen.

Now it's time to close this ceremony.

**[Children: "Go on. Don't leave."]**

I'm not leaving. Who said I was leaving? I'm going to go on back to work. You know I have to. Doesn't the school term start today?

**[Children: "Yes."]**

Aren't you going to school? When are you going to school?

**[Children: "Tomorrow."]**

Everybody on time at school!

**[Children: "Yes."]**

Don't forget that we still have a lot to do to make a success of our Farmer's Aid program. Do you like mangos?

Do you like pineapples? Do you like bananas? Do you like icecream?

**[Children applaud.]**

Well, without the Land Reform—the Farmers' Aid program—there can be none of these things. Besides don't you also want to help the Forest Building Program?

Do you want us to have a lot of mangos, custardapples and oranges? Then at home you all must collect all the seeds of these fruits and keep them and send them to the Minister of Agriculture so that he can plant them.

When you go to the country do you like to find shady places? And do you like to find fruit trees so that you won't have to do more than reach out your hand to pick a mango or a custard apple when you want a piece of fruit. Or do you like to find the countryside barren?

Today the countrysides of Cuba are barren. Until now the men who ruled Cuba never cared. They never loved the land and nobody took the trouble to beautify it, nor to provide shade and fruit trees. If you want Cuba within a few years to be planted—all of Cuba that is in not planted in rice and sugar and other food crops—to be planted with trees for your excursions, then you must collect the fruit seed and save them, because if you help us, within 5 or 6 years we will have millions and millions of fruit trees. Some of them can be grown from the little seeds that you are going to collect at home. At the same time we will be helping rebuild the forest.

**[Children: "Yes."]**

You must ask your teacher how to save the seeds. That means your teachers must ask the Minister of Agriculture how the different seeds should be saved. If you keep them in the wrong kind of place they will spoil. And you must ask where to send them. For example, students in Oriente province can send them to some place there so they will not have to be sent in to Havana just to be sent right back to Oriente. All of you must ask your teachers and then at home you must save all the seeds you can. You will see that with the help of you children we will fill the entire Island with fruit trees



and there will not be a child unable to find a piece of fruit when he wants it.

You know that we are going to make a big beach so that more than a hundred thousand children from all over our island can go there every year. We want all our children to become acquainted with the ocean and to learn to fish and to enjoy all the beautiful things of Cuba. You all know that Columbus said, "Cuba is the most beautiful land that human eyes have ever seen."

**[Children: "Yes."]**

We have the good fortune to live in the most beautiful country in the world but what we have never had was the good fortune for our own people to be able to see and enjoy it. Now we **are** going to have that good fortune.

Don't forget. We have an agreement with you. You are going to help us with the Revolutionary Reconstruction and Reform in every way you can, because our work still remains to be finished and you are the ones who must help us carry it out. To help carry it out you must study.



For you to study is what is most important to me and I'm going to be checking on how the children are studying at school. We are going to ask every teacher about every school, in order to find out which are the schools where you study the most and which are the schools where you study the least.

Next year we are going to get together here again.

[Children: "Yes."]

[Children all sing patriotic anthem of "26 of July Revolutionary Movement".]

My friend and Minister of Education, we are turning this fortress over to you. Above it we raise our victorious flag in order to deliver this conquered military camp into the hands of educators.

We hope that this ceremony will mark the beginning of a new era in education and that the institution of higher learning established here will become an example for all the Hemisphere.

[Children applaud.]



Goodbye!

This publication has been approved by the  
Office of the Prime Minister of Cuba.



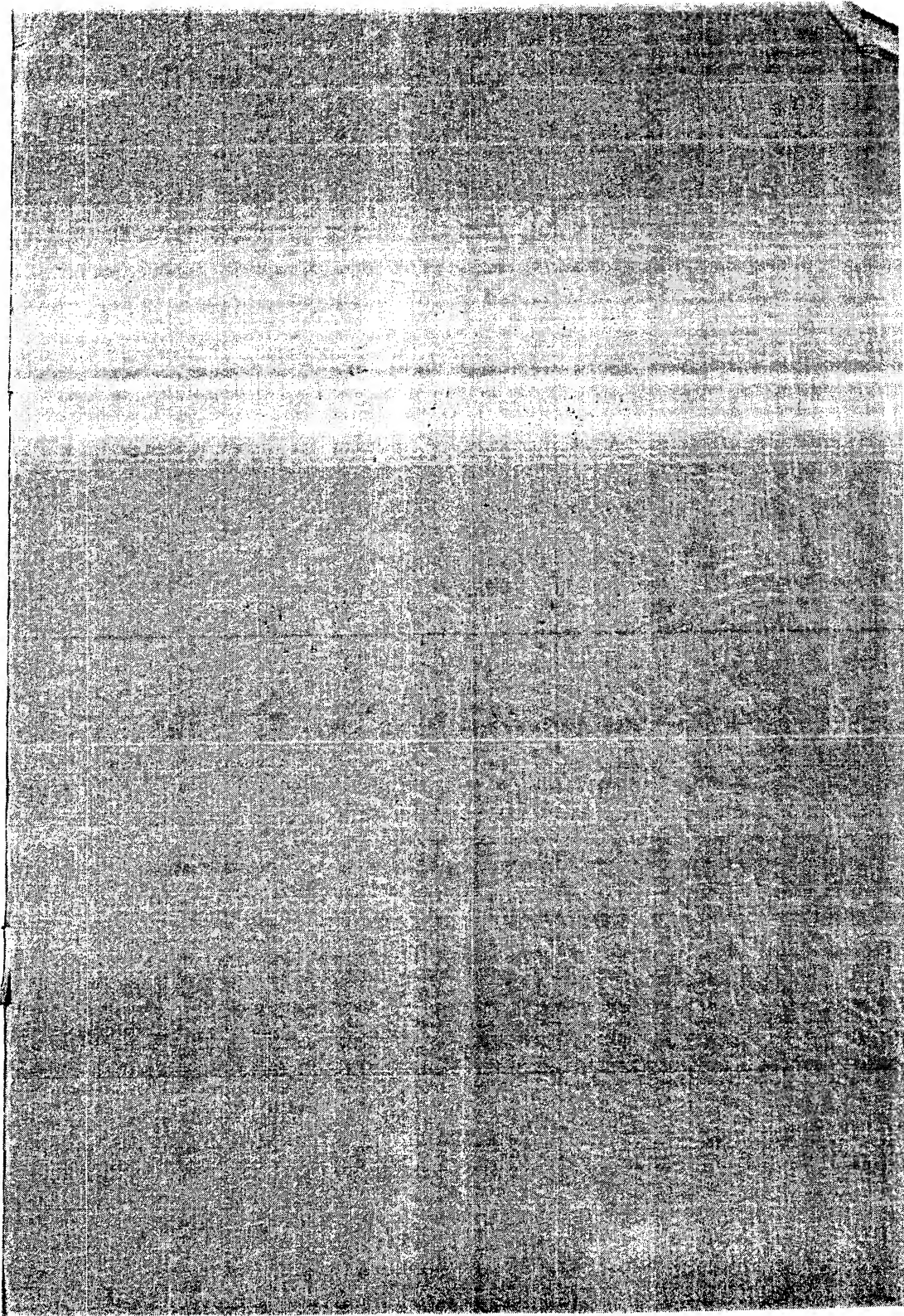
This publication has been  
approved by Dr. Fidel Castro.

*Fidel Castro*  
*speaks*  
*with the people*  
*of Cuba*

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*Translation of an address  
by the Prime Minister of Cuba, Dr. Fidel Castro,  
to the people of Cuba  
at a loyalty rally, October 26, 1959*



Workers, farmers, students, all Cubans:

We have a lot to talk over with you. In this great rally today there are important matters to be dealt with. This is or should be more than just a moment of enthusiasm. It should be above all a time of meditation.

Every nation must search for the source of its problems. It is not enough to know the facts. It is necessary for the people to know the factors behind the facts. The support of the people gratifies us. Their extraordinary enthusiasm gives us satisfaction. But, above all it interests us that the people should meditate. It interests us that the people should think because the people should find an explanation for the problems with which they are confronted.

I am not here to make a speech. I am here to reason with the people. I am here to converse with the people. Never has there been a time when it was more necessary that there should be the most complete understanding between the people and us. After all, those of us who make up the Council of Ministers and occupy the key positions of the government are merely men of the people. We are simply carrying out the will of the people and fulfilling the desires of the people. Never has there been a time when it was more necessary that the Cuban people and we the revolutionary leaders, should think and act as one. If our enemies engage us in battle we will give them battle. If they attack us they will find all of Cuba to be one great army.

We are not dismayed by desertors and cowards. After all we have just been through a war. In the war we learned that some men desert and some men turn cowards; but they do not matter because they are the minority. We know that we have with us the people of Cuba and the people are not going to become cowardly. There is only one way for our people to obtain victory and make progress—through courage. We know that the people will not become cowardly. We know that the people are willing to die alongside their revolutionary government. The people know that we can end this struggle only by winning or by dying in the attempt. The people know perfectly well that the men who today have the reins of the government in their hands, these rebels who have appeared today on this platform, are men who are willing to die alongside the people.

When the people of a nation are courageous and willing to face death, when their leaders are willing to die with them, then

nation is invincible; that nation cannot be overcome by anything or anybody.

\* \* \*

These are the questions we should ask ourselves: Why are we being attacked? Why have we had to meet here together again? Why are there traitors? Why is there an attempt to make the revolution fail? What accusations are being made against the Revolution? Why are certain charges made against us? What ends are being sought? How should the people contend with these maneuvers and motives? How can the success of the Revolution be assured? What measures have we taken and what measures are we willing to take in order to defend the Revolution?

Before going further I want to read a news report:

"UPI 3:38 p.m. Officials of the customs of Miami are investigating the news that six or seven airplanes are in flight from the Miami area toward Havana to drop counterrevolutionary leaflets over the rally in support of Castro being carried out in Havana. Customs official Joseph Portier said that he had information that these flight were being made but he did not know what success they may have had.

"We are trying to place agents in these possible flights," Portier said. He also said that he had sent agents to various airports of the meridional region of Florida and that some of the airplanes that took part in the alleged flight to Havana were rented and others were private property."

I read this bulletin for the simple reason that I know that the people are not afraid.

But at the same time while we have been here on this platform we have received the following communication from the head of the regiment of the Rebel Army in the Province of Pinar del Río: "Be advised that an avionette has flown over the city and [from it] were thrown hand made grenades as well as an incendiary bomb at the Niagara Sugar Mill. A house was set on fire between the post office and the Army garrison. It was at six thirty in the evening. They also dropped pamphlets."

That is to say, the very authorities of Miami recognized that six or seven airplanes left from that area en route to Cuba and that they were still waiting for the results of the flights.

Very well. Now we can give the first report of the results. And we beg them, if they will be so kind, to go ahead and send along the official war communiqué letting us know the pilots' tally of this daring sortie against the people of Cuba.

\* \* \*

This is the limit. We cannot be sure whether it is shamelessness or whether it is complete impotence on the part of the United States that the authorities should report news of the fifth aerial

bombing mission over our territory. How is it possible that the authorities of a nation so powerful, with so many economic and military resources, with radar systems which are said to be able to intercept even guided missiles, should admit before the world that they are unable to prevent aircraft from leaving their territory in order to bomb a defenseless country like Cuba?

I wonder—and this is a question we should all ask ourselves in order to find an explanation for what is happening... I wonder if the authorities of the United States would be so negligent as to permit Russian emigrants from Alaska to carry out bombing raids over cities and villages of Russian territory. I ask myself if they would be so careless as to permit that act of aggression from their territory.

Next I ask myself how it is possible then that the authorities of the United States should be so careless that on the other hand they do permit these aerial attacks against a country of their own Continent—permit this aggression against a small and weak country that has no resources to defend itself from those attacks, and has no military power. I ask myself if the cause for this neglect is that we are a weak nation. Are the authorities of the powerful nations careful not to permit acts of aggression against other powerful nations, and yet do they on the other hand permit these acts against nations like us? I can see no other explanation.

I cannot conceive of any explanation other than the fact that Cuba is a small nation unable to defend itself from those attacks, a country that is not a world power. I am unable to find—and I do not believe that there is—any other explanation, because the honorable attitude for powerful nations would be to make certain to prevent their territory from serving as a base for aggression against a smaller country... as well as to prevent raids against a powerful country.

\* \* \*

Who are those who attack us from the United States and why do they attack us? When I contemplate these problems I cannot avoid remembering the first days after we won the war. I cannot avoid remembering the overwhelming joy of our people, the infinite happiness of the Cuban people. I remember they were happy because the war was over and because no more blood was going to be spilled, because no more homes and no more villages were going to be burned, because the murderous bombings were not going to be repeated again. Our people were happy because they had obtained peace. Our people were happy because none of them could ever suspect that some day from foreign territory, the criminals, the same merciless hordes who cowardly fled the first of January, would return with their inconceivably inhuman methods to spread terror among our people.

It is painful to remember those days because they remind us of a happy people who believed that never again would they have

to suffer terror at the hands of that group of criminals that we had finally driven out of power.

\* \* \*

But **why** do they attack us? And what is the reason for the tolerance of the American authorities? On another occasion like this when all the people were assembled here to defend our country from an organized campaign of libel and slander I said that our enemies were using defamation in the press in order to lay the way for acts of aggression against us.

Ten months have not yet passed by and we have had to call the people together again. This time not just to defend ourselves from slander, but to struggle for the very survival of our citizens. and in defense of the safety of our children.

What we can depend upon we have mobilized. We have mobilized the Cuban people. We have gathered a million Cubans together on three days' notice, to proclaim before all the nations of the world, our protest against the acts of **barbarity** which, in one afternoon and in the course of just a few minutes, produced 47 victims among our unwarned and defenseless civilians. But why are we attacked? Why don't airplanes fly out of Florida to attack the dictatorship of Trujillo? Why don't airplanes leave the United States to attack the dictatorship of Somoza? Of course, airplanes should not leave the United States to bomb us here nor bomb anybody, anywhere! They should not go to Santo Domingo nor to Nicaragua. They should not go anywhere. But what we must ask ourselves is: Why precisely is Cuba chosen?

After all, there are emigrants of all nationalities in the United States—even many emigrants from our sister nation Puerto Rico, that has the right to aspire to be one more independent nation in Latin America. And, nevertheless, although there are many emigrants from many nations, Cuba just happens to be the one country to which airplanes depart with emigrants aboard to attack a civil population.

Why precisely Cuba? If there is one country with which the United States should be more careful, if there is one country about which the United States should be concerned that these incidents should not occur, this country is Cuba. Cuba has just been through a two years war during which airplanes of American origin were used to drop on Cuban cities and on the Cuban countryside rocket projectiles and incendiary bombs also of American manufacture. Thousands of our people were murdered with weapons of American manufacture. The least we could expect after having destroyed Batista's mercenary army, after we liberated our people from tyranny, the least that we could expect is that our people should not continue to be bombed from bases located in the territory of the United States.

What can we think of such negligence on the part of the authorities of a country which right here, in the heart of our

country, maintains a naval base to protect its citizens from an attack of any kind?

How is it possible that in return [for the use of Guantanamo as a naval base the American Government does not prevent] bases located in the United States [from being used to subject us] to attacks carried out by our war criminals who are harbored in the United States? How is it possible that in return for the risks we run with the presence of that military base (\*) in our country, the cottages of our farmers, our sugar mills, and our civil population are exposed to incendiary bombs and to machine-gunning from airplanes that come here from the United States?

\* \* \*

What would be the reaction of the American public if the American public were aware of all this? In the name of the people of Cuba I appeal to the public opinion of the United States. I do not conceive nor believe that the people of the United States could approve of such irresponsibility on the part of the authorities of their country.

I ask myself what would happen, what would the people of the United States say if planes departing from Canada or any other country should drop incendiary bombs on American factories and houses and then make a raid on the capital of the United States, with the result that city hospitals would be crowded with men, children and old people, wounded by machineguns.

The people of the United States still have fresh in their memory the treacherous surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. I am sure that under no circumstances would the American people, who experienced such profound indignation over Pearl Harbor, approve these aerial attacks [on Cuba] nor would they by any means accept the explanation that the authorities are unable to prevent these flights. As I said a few days ago, the people of the United States would have to come to the conclusion that either their authorities are accomplices to the raids on Cuba or the American nation has been deceived by its authorities, and is defenseless. How is it possible that the American people can be told that they are safe even from guided missiles if the government is not even capable of preventing small aircraft from taking off and landing as they please from their territory?

\* \* \*

Another question that we must ask ourselves is: What do our enemies expect to accomplish with these bombings? Do they simply want to make us live in a constant state of fear never knowing at what hour of the day or night they can scatter death

(\*) Guantánamo Naval Base.

and destruction among us? This in itself would be sadism and vengeance (characteristic of our war criminals). But what we all suspect is even worse: that by using surprise bombings they think they can finally bring about such a state of fear and cowardice among our people that we might abandon our Revolution and —by turning the government over to mercenaries and reactionaries— deliver Cuba back into the hands of the Masferrers, the Pilar Garcías, the Venturas, the Carratalás.

On one hand, Cuba is being threatened by economic strangulation, that is to say, the loss of the sugar quota which provides our principal income. On the other hand, we are being subjected to aerial attacks that have the objective of terrorizing us so that we will renounce our magnificent revolutionary reform program and give up our hope of creating social justice here in our island. What has the Revolutionary Government of Cuba done to deserve this aggression against us? Our internal problems and our international problems simply result from opposition to the Revolution itself. It is our process of revolutionary reform that has caused aggressions from outside Cuba as well as treason inside Cuba.

\* \* \*

What has the Revolutionary Government done? The only accusation that can be made against the Revolutionary Government is that we have given our people reform laws. Everything we have done can be reviewed with pride by our people. Why are the people of Cuba with us? Not just for purely sentimental reasons. The people support the Revolutionary Government because we have passed revolutionary reform laws.

Why do the farmers support the Revolutionary Government?

Why do the workers support the Revolutionary Government?

Why do the immense majority of the people support the Revolutionary Government?

Why do the people defend the Revolutionary Government?

Simply because we have been defending the people, because we have been carrying out reforms in Cuba.

Here in public we are going to give our answer once and for all to those who slander and belittle the revolution. They will finally have to remove their masks; they will have to admit that the accusations they make —that we are communists— can be attributed exclusively to the fact that they have not dared to admit that they are against our reform program. Since there are no just complaints or accusations that can be made against our government, our enemies resort to that old bugaboo that they have been using for the last 50 years. They label us falsely as best suits their schemes to commit aggression against us, and thus they proceed, aided and abetted by foreign interests that are our enemies.

What we must analyze is what the Revolutionary Government has done and what we must ask is whether the people of Cuba are in agreement with what the Revolutionary Government has been doing.

Do you approve of our having given you honest administration of public funds for the first time in the history of Cuba?

Do you approve of our having put an end to smuggling?

Do you approve of our having abolished the practice of payroll padding in the offices of the government?

Do you approve of our having eradicated gambling from the daily life of our average citizen?

Do you approve of our having tried and executed guilty war criminals by firing squads?

Do you approve of our having recovered property that was embezzled during the dictatorship?

Do you approve of our having converted the headquarters of the old Political Police into a children's playground and of our having changed the old Army headquarters into a scholastic center that the children of Cuba so needed?

Do you approve of our having converted army regimental headquarters into other schools?

Do you approve of our having cancelled the dishonest concession that the dictatorship gave to the Telephone Company?

Do you approve of our having put the price of medicine within the reach of the people?

Do you approve of our having created ten thousand more jobs for teachers out in the rural areas?

Do you approve of our having founded the National Institute of Savings and Housing which has already built 10,000 homes?

Do you approve of our having provided a Social Security Bank?

Do you approve of our having taken steps to develop the tourist industry on a large scale as an important source of income for our country?

Do you approve of our having returned to the workers their union rights and all the other benefits that were taken away from them during the tyranny?

Do you approve of our having reduced the rents so that every family could have a place of their own?

Do you agree that it was right for us to give boats to the fishermen so they could keep the profits from their own work and stop being exploited?

Do you approve of the consumers' cooperatives that we have organized in the country to prevent the farmers from being charged the double prices they have always been charged?

\* \* \*

Are you in favor of the Land Reform?

Do you approve of our having given land to the farmers?



Do you agree that it is right that the farmers who produce charcoal, in Ciénaga de Zapata, Península de Guanacahabibes, Belice, Yateras and many other parts of Cuba should have cooperatives where they can sell their charcoal, rather than being exploited as they always have been?

Do you approve of our having built decent housing for the farmers and of our having constructed highways and schools from one end of the island to the other?

Were you in favor of the old system of rural police at the service of the big landlords and the monopolies?

Or are you in favor of the soldiers of the Revolutionary Army who are today the allies and friends of the farmers? The Rebel Army does not commit injustices. The Rebel Army works exclusively in behalf of the people.

Do you approve of our having helped the farmers go back to the rural areas that had become abandoned as a result of the greed and selfishness of the big landlords?

Do you agree that it was right for us to protect our monetary reserves in order to make funds available to industrialize the country?

Do you agree that we are right in insisting that the country import tractors now instead of Cadillacs? Do you agree with us that it is right for us to plant as much rice as we can instead of importing it? and produce as much lard as we can instead of importing it? and produce all the cotton we can instead of importing it? all the foodstuffs we can instead of importing them? and in this way provide jobs for more than half a million of our fellow Cubans who are unemployed?

Do you approve of our plans to industrialize the country?

Then, I ask: has the Revolutionary Government done anything that the people do not approve? What has the Revolutionary Government done except defend the interests of the people? What have we done except sacrifice ourselves for our country?

In four centuries of Cuban history never has there been such an altruistic movement.

\* \* \*

In the 1500's the Indians of this island were persecuted and slaughtered by the Spanish **conquistadores**. For over three hundred years during the colonial period there was slavery in Cuba and human beings were bought and sold like animals. Our own seven year struggle against tyranny cost 20,000 lives, while thousands of homes were destroyed by fire thanks to selfishness, greed and vested interests.

At long last the destiny of Cuba is being shaped by a revolutionary movement which is fighting against inequality and injustice—a revolutionary government which is determined to redeem our people and to destroy evils which, in some instances,

have been in existence for more than four hundred years. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has begun to build what has not been built during the 50 years that this country has been a republic—streets, water works, schools, hospitals, and industries.

What have the people of Cuba and its Revolutionary Government done except defend Cuban interests in Cuba and abroad? I ask myself and ask you if the worthy and courageous position taken by the people of Cuba in the international organizations is or is not correct?

I could go on asking whether or not you approve of our having given the common people the right to use those beaches which used to belong only to a small privileged group, so that now with all stupid prejudices abolished all Cubans can go to the beaches, whatever color their skin may be.

I ask you whether or not you approve of our having given all Cubans, whatever color their skin may be, an equal opportunity to work.

We could go on indefinitely asking what has the Revolutionary Government done that is not for the benefit of the people.

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The problem is: if we plant rice, we interfere with foreign interests; if we produce lard, we interfere with foreign interests; if we produce cotton, we interfere with foreign interests; if we cut down the electric tariffs, we interfere with foreign interests; if we make a Petroleum Law, like the one which is about to be decreed, we interfere with foreign interests; if we carry out a Land Reform, we interfere with foreign interests; if we make a Mining Law, like the one which is about to be announced, we interfere with foreign interests; if we create a Merchant Marine, we interfere with foreign interests. If we try to find new markets for our country, we interfere with foreign interests. If we attempt to sell at least as much as we buy, we interfere with foreign interests.

Because our Revolutionary Laws have an adverse effect on privileged classes inside Cuba and outside Cuba, they attack us and attack us and call us Communists. They accuse us, trying to find some pretext to justify aggression against our country.

By any chance is the Land Reform Law not [good for] Cubans? By any chance is the reduction of excessive electricity rates not [good for] Cubans?

By any chance is the reduction of excessive telephone rates not [good for] Cubans?

Is it by any chance not [good for] Cuba that we make an effort to create a Merchant Marine?

Is it by any chance not [good for] Cuba to plant rice and cotton and to produce lard in our country?

Is it by any chance not [good for] Cuba to build houses for our workers, our farmers, and the Cuban families in general?

Is it by any chance not [good for] Cuba to reduce the price of medicines, many of which come from foreign laboratories?

Is it or is it not [good for] Cuba to defend our monetary reserves?

Is it or is it not [good for] Cuba to buy tractors instead of Cadillacs?

Is it or is it not [good for] Cuba to provide ten thousand schools—which is twice the number that had been provided in the fifty years that Cuba has been a Republic?

Is it or is it not [good for] Cuba to convert our fortresses into scholastic centers?

Is it or is it not [good for] Cuba to give boats to our fishermen?

To give equipment to our farmers?

To give our workers what is due them?

Is it or is it not [good for] Cuba to proclaim it the duty of Cubans to consume Cuban products?

\* \* \*

Is it or is it not [good for] Cuba to protect our national industries?

Are the measures adopted by the Revolutionary Government not Cuban, or are they the very essence of Cubanism?

Then, what do those wretched conspirators charge us with?

Of what can those criminals, those false and shameless men [like Díaz Lanz and Huber Matos] accuse us, except of having undertaken measures for the benefit of Cuba?

What do not [serve the interest of] Cuba are the foreign monopolies.

What does not [serve the interests of] Cuba is the Electric Company.

What does not [serve the interests of] Cuba is the Telephone Company.

Nor does the United Fruit Company. Nor does the Atlantic and Gulf Company. Nor do the contracts to foreign shipping companies that carry cargo into and out of our ports.

The greater part of the rice we consume, the greater part of the lard we consume, the greater part of the textile products we use, the greater part of the manufactured items we use give profit to others not to Cuba.

Those trusts which operate our mines and which have obtained unfair concessions here [give profits to others], not to Cuba. Those companies which were handed over the concessions to exploit most of our land with possible oil wealth [would give profit to others] not to Cuba.

The bombs which killed our farmers during the war were [manufactured elsewhere], not in Cuba. The arms and ammunition with which 20,000 of our countrymen were killed were [manufactured elsewhere], not in Cuba, and were not [good for] Cuba.

The men who trained the mercenary army destroyed by our Revolution, were not Cuban and were not [good for] Cuba.

The campaign of lies and slander being carried out against us does not [originate in] Cuba and is not [good for] Cuba. Those magazines which seek to degrade our people, those international news agencies which write about non-existent horrors in our country are not Cuban and are not [good for] Cuba. This is the truth, this is the truth which must be told to the people. This is the truth which the false and shameless refuse to admit. They refuse to admit that they are spreading their poison in a campaign against our Revolution simply because we have taken measures for the good of Cuba. All the great vested interests, both national and international all the enemies of our country have banded together under the same pirates' flag and screaming the same battlecry.

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Do the reactionaries by any chance want us to give military training to the farmers and the workers? No, certainly not. You have probably noticed the attitude of the mouthpieces of the reactionaries such as this new mouthpiece which pretends to represent the Auténtico Abstencionista party, which indeed it does not represent, because the real representative of the Partido Auténtico Abstencionista is Dr. Carlos Prío Socarrás and he is here with us.

Those who publish this new newspaper have allowed themselves to be seduced by the siren song of Diario de la Marina and Avance. And what has this new newspaper done? One of the first things is to join forces with the traitor Huber Matos. In the second place, it tries to make the same insinuations accusing the Revolutionary Government of being Communist. In the third place it prints: "The Revolution, in order to defend itself from its enemies does not need to arm the workers and the farmers, especially when the proven courage and skill of the Rebel Army is taken into account and inasmuch as the Revolutionary Government has the moral support of all the people and of all the country." And a few lines further along they print: "If the above is not taken into consideration in a democracy, it would be necessary to continue using the tactic of calling rallies of the masses—a tactic so risky and so tedious for the country when peace and order are more important".

Peace in the face of criminal bombing and machine-gunning of our people!

\* \* \*

It is good to be aware of their attitude in order that the real Auténticos, those who used to constitute the strength of the Auténtico Party, may never allow themselves to fall under the influence of those glib individuals who have been misled by the



schemes of La Marina and Avance, gullible individuals who have allowed themselves to be pushed along by the mouthpieces of the reactionaries and the counterrevolutionaries and who are now parroting the same arguments as Trujillo, the Rosa Blanca and the international monopolies that are working against Cuba. As I said before, the people should not allow themselves to be confused. It is money of the robber barons that has brought out this new sheet.

I said that we should carefully contemplate the whys and wherefores of the attacks against us. Why is there such opposition to our training the workers and the farmers? It is very simple. The reactionaries would like for us to have an army such as they supported in what they would call the "good old days". They would like a professional army, such as Cuba used to have. That would be their only hope because such an army down through the years might come to be an instrument of the reactionaries. They have hopes of being able to find somebody greedy for power, some traitor like the one we have just discovered. They have the hope that in a career army they might some day be able to corrupt soldiers and officers, and they have the hope that in the moment least suspected the armed forces of the Republic might determine the fate of our country, because they remember that the big trusts, the vested interests, the robber barons and other power groups and cliques affected by the revolution, all those selfish minorities, are accustomed to using the army as their tool. The army was the instrument of the foreign interests and of the worst elements in our own country. It was no accident that the army of Cuba had foreign instructors.

\* \* \*

Since they know that a tremendous revolutionary force resides in the people, since they know that civilians with military training could defend all they have won for themselves, the old privileged classes are allergic to everything that is implied by the military training of workers and farmers.

On the other hand, we believe that the best allies of the soldiers are the farmers and the workers. In our opinion the best ally of the army is the average citizen. The best troops of the rebel army are the farmers.

The officers' clique that supported the traitor Huber Matos were not the kind of soldiers and officers of rural origin who are the pride of the Rebel Army. Huber Matos' accomplices did not belong to the most invincible, to the most courageous, nor to the most steadfast of the Rebel Army.

The fine soldiers who have gone with their rifles and machine guns up to rooftops to improvise anti-aircraft defense of their fellow citizens are soldiers from the Sierra Maestra. They are the

(\*) Huber Matos.



"In the name of the people of Cuba I appeal to the people of the United States, to public opinion in the United States."  
MAJOR FIDEL CASTRO



We will kneel and bow our heads the day we can kneel on the Cuban soil that holds the bodies of twenty thousand martyrs and can say, "Brothers, the work of the revolution has been carried out. Your blood was not shed in vain".  
MAJOR CAMILO CIENFUEGOS



"...We are here to unmask the ever-present traitors, who thought that this revolution could be defrauded as previous revolutions have been defrauded."  
MAJOR JUAN ALMEIDA



Loyalty Rally, Public Square in front of Presidential Palace, Overlooking  
Malecon, Havana, Cuba.



View of Loyalty Rally, Presidential Palace, Havana, Cuba

"guajiros" from the Sierra Maestra who used to make up the front lines. Those soldiers are true rebels.

Why? Because they themselves used to live in the country. They were born in the country and they grew up in the country. They have seen the rural police wield the butts of their rifles and the backs of their machetes in the interest of the mighty landlords.

In the rural parts of Cuba these rebel soldiers have seen the hopeless poverty of our farmers. They have seen the horrible spectacle of barefoot, diseased children. In the countryside of Cuba these guajiro soldiers were acquainted with all the innate goodness and all the heroism of the underprivileged farmers. Nobody will be able to use these rebel soldiers either against the rural population, nor against the civil population in general, because these soldiers do truly understand the spirit of the revolution.

It has been their lot to live through and suffer under the conditions that made this revolution necessary. They gave an example to all the farmers of the country and they led the nation to victory. Workers and other citizens of Havana, the rifles that protect you are the rifles of the **guajiro** soldiers from the Sierra Maestra.

\* \* \*

And workers, students, farmers, and all the rest of you Cubans with patriotism and love for your country, if the time should come to give battle to defend our rights as Cubans and to defend the sovereignty of the Cuban nation, you may be sure that those soldiers who are here in Havana protecting you and all the rest of our Rebel Army would want to have you shoulder to shoulder alongside them.

The reactionaries do not want this. What the reactionaries would like is an unarmed civil population and an army which is corruptible and that some day may be able to put a brake on the revolution and make our country backslide. This is why the betrayal of Huber Matos is such a serious matter. It was the first attempt to utilize members of the Rebel Army against the revolution; it was the first attempt to corrupt officers, to use them against the people, against the interests of the people, against the Cuban revolution. Of course the reactionaries do not want the workers and farmers to be given military training. Because they always have the hope that if the country's only defense is a professional army, they might some day be able to win over some officers. They might be able some day to corrupt a professional army and once again have an instrument with which to perpetrate another coup d'etat, like the 10th of March.

But there will never again be a 10th of March in our country. The concept of the professional army as the only defense of a country is diametrically opposed to our revolutionary concept that

the nation should be safeguarded by the people, with all the strength of the people and all their love for their country.

\* \* \*

What do the traitors do? What is the first thing that they do? Repeat the same battlecry as Trujillo, repeat the same battlecry as the Rosa Blanca. Repeat the same battlecry as the criminals of war. Repeat the same battlecry as the international monopolies that are enemies of Cuba. They all accuse the Revolutionary Government of being Communist.

What the traitors do first of all is to say "Trujillo, you were right!" That is to say to the war criminals, "you were right". That is to say to the big foreign trusts, "you were right". That is to say to the Rosa Blanca, "you were right". That is to say to those who are bombing our territory, "you were right".

The first that they do is to hoist up the same pirates' flag as the war criminals, as the Trujillistas, as the Rosa Blanca. And still they object when we call them traitors!

What ends do they pursue with all this? The purpose of dividing the people, of confusing the people, of weakening the nation. Traitors that they are, they want to confuse the people when it is most important for the people to think clearly, and to be aware of what are Cuba's best interests, and of what are the interests of our enemies, of those who cannot share the feelings of our people. Traitors that they are, they take up the standard of the Trujillos, of the war criminals and of the international vested interests who are enemies of Cuba.

All those that join forces with the traitors are traitors. And all those who at this moment have the gall to preach disunity of the people, are traitors! All they would accomplish if they could weaken the nation would be to make the powerful enemies of our Revolution feel encouraged to attack us. I say that those who are to be blamed for the bombs are not only those who drop them, but those who right here [in Cuba] inspire the attacks, those who—like Pepín Rivero, of the *Diario de la Marina* and especially those at Avance—, have been encouraging the counterrevolutionaries. Treason is committed by all those who join forces with the traitors. Why do they do it? Because they oppose our revolutionary reforms.

It is not me whom they oppose. It is not the president of the Republic whom they oppose. It is not Raúl, Ché, Camilo, Almeida, Efigenio Ameijeiras whom they oppose. We are their targets but it is the revolutionary reform program that they oppose.

If we had not passed revolutionary laws, they would dedicate the greatest praise to us. Their attack is against the revolution and the revolutionary laws. It is because of the reform program that they accuse us.

I have shown that the laws that are being carried out are

truly Cuban and are of benefit to Cubans. What are not Cuban are the selfish interests which oppose the revolutionary laws. Moreover, who are carrying forward this revolution? Who are the men together with me on this platform? While I listened to the words of our revolutionary leaders on this platform, when I heard Major Camilo Cienfuegos, Major Guevara, Major Raúl Castro, and Major Almeida, and when I heard our other fellow veterans of the rebel army like Universo Sánchez, Efigenio Ameijeiras and others, I remembered the early fighting phase of the revolution in the Sierra Maestra.

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I remembered those days of tremendous difficulty, of untold hardships, when such a small group remained steadfast. I was reminded of those days of hunger and cold when we had no coats to shield us from the rain, and no blankets in which to wrap ourselves, to escape from the dampness and the cold of the mountains, those days when we hardly had shoes on our feet and only a few bullets for our rifles, while we were pursued by droves of soldiers. I remember those first days when the Revolution was thwarted and we were overcome because we were so few. I remember those days in which, with the absolute faith of men who have dedicated themselves to a great and good cause, we persevered, we continued our struggle without becoming demoralized although we were so few in number; here on this platform I have been reminded of those days because I saw here those men who were pillars of strength in the truly difficult, the truly bitter hours. I looked back on all that epic that those faithful revolutionaries wrote. I looked back on it from the first days of Moncada to the invasion, in which two columns under the command of two of the majors who have just spoken to you here, crossed the plains of Camagüey to take help to the fellow rebels who were fighting there, and wrote one of the most glorious pages of military history. That feat would have to be compared with the great feats of the great generals of history. And they are not generals; they are only majors. We have abolished the rank of generals and colonels that used to be a curse to Cuba.

When I listened to our faithful revolutionaries here, I said to myself: "Where are the twelve?" Of the twelve, several fell in battle, the others are here. The Revolution has had no deserters among the real revolutionaries. Huber Matos, who betrayed us at the approach of the climax of the ASTA Convention, in the midst of the extraordinary effort that we had put forth, is one of the latecomers. Huber Matos is one of those who came into the war, not for the sake of this country, but for his own ulterior motives. He is one of those who went to war not to make his country great but to gain notice for himself. We cannot say that a revolutionary

(\*) Twelve who survived the "Gramma" landing, Dec., 1956.

deserted, when he deserted. The day that would be sad would be the day that some of those who were the heart of the Revolution should fail us—the day that one of those who came with us in the “Gramma” should fail us, or the day that there would be a deserter among those who shared all our reverses with us and who have come this far without hesitation.

\* \* \*

Furthermore, when I see the other officers of the Rebel Army, the other leaders of the revolutionary organizations, for example, the leaders of the University Students League, I feel assured that the revolution is stronger than ever and more united than ever. On what side do we always find the good soldiers? Where will the good revolutionaries always be? On the side of the people.

When I see a million ardent fellow citizens here, I realize that the revolution is stronger than ever, and that the stab in the back just received, far from weakening the revolution, has strengthened it.

These traitors assume importance only because they have behind them all the resources of the reactionaries, all the reactionary press here in Cuba and all the press of the international oligarchy. All the resources of the counterrevolution are behind them. They are no more than peons of the counterrevolution, miserable instruments whose statements are given space only in the newspapers that are mouthpieces of the counterrevolution, mouthpieces of the reactionaries.

This is not a struggle between individuals. It is a struggle of vested interests, of big trusts against the interests of the Cuban people. That is why the reactionaries do not praise Cuba.

Naturally, the reactionaries do not praise Camilo. The reactionaries do praise the traitors. The reactionaries do not praise Almeida. The reactionaries do not praise loyal men. The reactionaries praise the traitors. The reactionaries do not praise the men of ideals. With loyal men, with men of ideals, they can accomplish nothing. The reactionaries glorify the great traitors.

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The reactionaries do not praise steadfast men. They praise men who surrender, men who give up, men who become cowardly, men who sell out. Some men sell out for money, others for adulation; still others for both money and adulation.

But in what company do we find those who so perversely, so shamelessly, accuse the government of being Communist? What do they do but repeat the same battlecry as the Trujillos, the Rosa Blanca, and the other enemies of our country?

Do they think that they are going to intimidate us, or do they fail to understand how convinced we are of the justice of the measures that we are taking?

Do they fail to understand that we are so firmly convinced that we are serving our people, that only by depriving us of life itself—and not even then—will they ever be able to suppress our ideals?

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The reactionaries—those who bomb Cuba, those who drop bombs with the same pretext that the traitors repeat today—are lusting after sensation. What they want is a sensational counter-revolutionary show. What they want are traitors to make the worst charges against the Government so that these charges may be printed in the headlines of their newspaper in order to spread confusion, in order to weaken the Revolution.

No, they don't write a word against the bombs, or if they do they use on what they write the lukewarm touch [characteristic] of those who file reports to satisfy appearances and to disguise their position. The position of those who bomb us in Havana cannot be disassociated from the position of those who betrayed us in Camagüey. When the former deserted, they first wrote a letter for publication in the newspaper; when the latter deserted they also wrote a letter for publication and used the same arguments that were used by traitor Díaz Lanz.

The counterrevolutionary press printed Díaz Lanz's statements accusing us as Communists and printed all of Huber Matos's statements accusing us as Communists. The end result of that plot was the dropping of bombs and would have been the releasing of rivers of blood on Cuban soil.

This betrayal and the libel by Huber Matos is as ignominious as that of Díaz Lanz, and the worst is the moment that he chose. He did the same in the Sierra Maestra; when the troops were already on the march and he knew that our interest in the offensive would make me restrain myself, he sent his insolent letter to me. And now, in the middle of the ASTA Convention, when he knew the extraordinary interest of all Cuba in making a success of the visit of those tourist agents, he thought that we would restrain ourselves this time too; so he took the first steps with his plot. But those plans were wrecked with the help of the people, [of Camagüey] not the rabble as the reactionaries call the people.

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When we began to govern Cuba, there were only seventy million dollars in monetary reserves in the banks. Now that we are making an extraordinary effort, when even the school children contribute their pennies to build up the economy, when the entire nation is making an effort, when all the construction workers labor nine and ten hours, when all the workers are giving us a percentage of their income for the industrialization of our country, at the very time that international cables are arriving with predictions that



please raise your hands those who believe that traitors like Huber Matos deserve finally to face the firing squad.

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Everybody knows that we did our best to put an end to the war tribunals.

Everybody knows the grief we were caused by the defamatory campaign made against our country while we were punishing the guilty.

Everybody knows the efforts we have made to increase the tourist trade to develop that source of income for the country as part of the peaceful development of Cuba's wealth to feed the Cubans, to give them jobs.

Everybody knows what a great effort we are making to carry our revolution forward, with the maximum of generosity, with the maximum of tolerance, with the maximum of good will.

Everybody knows how we dislike having to give again to the gang of base individuals who try to belittle us, to the international wire services, and to certain magazines and newspapers who slander us, another opportunity to present us before the world as callous and cruel.

Everybody knows how much we sacrifice by re-establishing war tribunals and even the harm that will result to our economy, especially after that wonderful convention of the American Society of Travel Agents here. After thousands of our people worked so hard to make the convention a success, all the benefit we expected from it becomes no more than a vanishing illusion thanks to the traitors, the criminals of war, and the other enemies of Cuba.

Everybody knows how hard and difficult it is for us to make this decision. But since we must defend our country from aggression, since we are being bombed, since our enemies want to defeat us by terror and hunger, we have no other alternative but to defend our country. We are men who do our duty.

Cuba must, first of all, survive as a nation and defend her sovereignty as a nation. To survive is the matter of most urgency and must take precedence even over our most worthy illusions, even over our fondest dreams.

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We have always envisioned a future in which we can bring about an era of peace and happiness. We have always dreamed of alleviating the pain and misery of the forgotten, of educating the uneducated, of feeding the hungry. We have always looked forward to providing the essentials of life to those who have always been the forgotten ones here in Cuba, those whom we remembered, when nobody else remembered them. While others spoke of democracy and of freedom they forgot that where there is ignorance,

where there is hunger, and where there is despair, one should speak not of democracy but of oppression.

Many Cubans have been held all their lives under the oppression of the big monopolies and robber barons. The first right of man is the right to life itself, the first right of man is the right to bread for himself and his children, the first right of man is to live by the sweat of his own brow; and all men are entitled to be given an education.

Here the children of rural families died for lack of medical assistance; these children had no rights. Women became old before their time and died prematurely; these women had no rights. Entire families fainting from hunger had no rights. These Cubans were denied the right to life itself.

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The men who deceived our people by making false use of abstract ideas always ignored those who make up the majority of our people, those for whom no one ever did anything, for whom no one ever fought, those whom we set out to redeem **without taking the essentials of life from anybody else**, those whom we are going to redeem by developing the wealth and resources of our own country.

It is our dearest wish to bring relief to these people. We have dreamed and we will continue to dream of a revolution in which the will of the majority of the people may prevail over the selfish minorities.

Greed on the part of the selfish minorities is what makes them unable to adapt themselves to the revolution which is a reality in Cuba today. We have dreamed that the great majority who support us would be respected by the minority. Instead, we have harvested counterrevolutionary campaigns, mercenary invasions, uprisings led by foreigners, aerial attacks from bases in foreign countries, and unscrupulous opposition by newspapermen who misuse freedom of the press to whitewash traitors in a concerted scheme of sabotage against us.

As a consequence we have harvested the bombing of sugar mills and the destruction of homes in the country and 47 victims in the capital.

But we are not willing to permit terror to take over the country. With Santo Domingo on one side and Florida on the other side, we are not willing to sit idly by while every mother, every son, and every wife, from one end of the island to the other, lives as I saw families live in the Sierra Maestra—with a veritable psychosis about airplanes, in a state of terror from bullets and bombings.

We must defend our country. Since we must defend our people, since we must defend our school children—the same children that I saw parading and singing on their way to this impressive concentration—since we must defend them; since we have been harvesting only evil; and since our enemies have become so audacious, it is good for us to let the world know that the Cuban people have decided to defend themselves.

Before the Cuban people are annihilated, the Cuban people are ready to annihilate as many enemies as are sent against them. Before allowing themselves to be murdered, the Cuban people are ready to die fighting.

The reactionaries, the invaders, and the counterrevolutionaries, both inside Cuba and outside Cuba, whether numerous or few, will find a nation that is proud to declare that we do not wish to do harm to anyone; that we do not wish to jeopardize any other people in any part of the world; that we wish only to live by our own labor; we wish only to live from the fruits of our own intelligence and wish only to live by the work of our own hands; but in order to defend our aspirations; in order to fulfill our destiny in this world; in order to defend rights that are the inalienable rights of any people of the world, big or small, today, yesterday or tomorrow, in order to defend our honest aspirations, the Cuban people are ready to fight

Men, women, children, even the aged, we are all ready to fight. Ours is a just cause, we do not wish harm to anyone, and no one has the right to do us harm. Today we proclaim that we do not fear anything or anyone, that we do not fear the measures taken against us, and that we are not afraid to take all the measures that we may have to take against those who wish to destroy us.

Today Cuba has attracted the attention of the whole world. Cuba has won admiration all over the world and we are not going to lose or abandon the respected position we occupy among the peoples of Latin America and the other people of the world.

Cuba is not going to be unworthy of the glory and prestige we have gained by defending our legitimate rights.

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Our revolution has been a success because of the kind of people you are. Otherwise, we could not carry out this kind of revolution. Those who have never studied history, and those who forget the history of other nations, those who have never read the chronicles of mankind, from the times of Greece to the present day, are the only ones who can fail to understand what a revolution is, and are the only ones who can be unaware that anybody who attempts to block a revolution will be crushed under the people's advance.

Only those who are ignorant of history fail to understand that the hesitant and the cowardly are carried along by the people. Cuba is the scene of one of the most interesting and extraordinary revolutionary processes ever known, if we take into account the obstacles that must be overcome, if we take into account the powerful resources that are being used to crush our revolution.

The people of Cuba have a mission to fulfill and we will fulfill it, because the people of Cuba are the kind with whom a revolution like this can be carried out.

Those who lack the courage of their convictions are not important. When have they been important in the history of a nation?

Those who hesitate do not matter. When have they mattered in the history of a people?

The cowards do not matter. When have the cowards mattered in the history of a people?

When we were only twelve men, what did it matter that some hesitated and some lacked the courage of their convictions? Did they prevent the revolution from attaining an extraordinary victory? Twelve men finally succeeded in bringing the rest of the nation into the struggle.

Today Cuba is holding her head high. Today Cuba fears no obstacle. This entire revolutionary nation is now on her feet and must not fear anything or anyone. The whole nation holds her head high like one great united army above those contemptible men who try to create confusion, above those unscrupulous ones who try to divide Cuba and weaken Cuba. Men of no feeling, they are unable to share in this hour of illusion the emotion or the spirit [that has been aroused] in Cuba after four centuries of struggling for justice.

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High above those who try to weaken it, the Nation stands united and disciplined like a single army. The people of Cuba are proud as a people. The nation is proud of its destiny. The people of Cuba are thinking as a nation for the first time, and united in a great cause. Those who are against Cuba are all those who are unable to understand this great cause that has been undertaken by our nation, by our guajiro soldiers, by our farmers—who constitute one half of our social group.

Cuban workers, Cuban students, professional men and women of Cuba, and all other worthy Cubans of all walks of life, are aware that the fate of our nation is at stake. Our every survival as a nation is at stake.

In order to attain peace and happiness, and well aware that our nation is involved in a heroic struggle that can free us from the bonds of economic and political slavery, the people of Cuba

are determined to win these final battles in the struggle that began in the past century.

The nation is convinced as it has never before been convinced that it is upholding a just and good cause. The nation is convinced of our loyalty, the nation is convinced that from this struggle there can be no retreat for us and we shall not retreat.

The nation knows that we will not give up the fight until our bodies are laid to rest. The nation is conscious of its destiny, certain of its rights, proud of its History. When I see the emotion that shows on the face of all our people, I can have no doubt that Cuba will emerge victorious, because I firmly believe that a nation such as ours has become must be respected.

Nothing can dismay us now; we will not let accusations stop us; we are not concerned for our own lives; we care only about the destiny of our nation.

The trust and faith placed in us by the people will not be betrayed, will not have been in vain. We are very conscious of our duty at this hour, and we can assure you that we will do our duty. And just as, in the past, we assured you that the victory would be ours, we assure you now that if, as a nation, we can go ahead as we have begun, we will overcome our obstacles, **because when the people of a nation are willing to fight for their rights, are ready to die, they must be respected.**

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Those who preach fear are our worst enemies, those who preach fear are preaching our destruction, those who preach fear preach the extermination of our people.

Get thee behind us! we say to the cowards.

Get thee behind us! we say to the fainthearted.

Get thee behind us! we say to all those who are trying to further their own petty ambitions in this, Cuba's finest hour.

Get thee behind us! we say to all those who board the victory train when all goes well and abandon it at the first sign of trouble.

Those who have courage, we invite to stay with us. Those who have faith, we invite to stay with us. Those who are ready to give all they have, we invite to stay with us.

Anyone who lacks courage, anyone who has doubts, should lose no time in leaving the ship.

Let the cowardly recant, let those who have no faith recant.

Those who have a sense of duty do not fail in it.

Those who have a fighting spirit do not renounce it.

Those who do not feel able to play a role in this unique moment in our history, should go their way.

Those who do not believe in the Revolution should go their way.

We believe in the people and we know that the people will [justify our belief, in them].

Any government true to the people, will find the people true to the leaders of that government. It is not without meaning that this rally is bigger than the one we held 8 months ago. It is not without meaning that after 10 months of Revolutionary Government the people of Cuba give even greater support to the revolution.

The reason is simply that the Revolutionary Government has been true to the people. To all those who said that the Revolutionary Government was going to grow weak and lose favor we say: Look at the people, and you will see that only the men who betray the people lose their strength; the men who remain loyal to the people never lose the people's favor.

\* \* \*

What we want to point out is the progress of the revolution.

What we want to point out is that every day we are given more co-operation.

What must not be overlooked is that soldiers are building highways and schools, that teachers are working for half salary, that workers are voluntarily increasing their working-day to help the government, that citizens are collecting dollars, that children are collecting pennies, that workmen are working on Sundays to contribute their labor as a donation to the resources of the revolution.

The wonderful spirit of self-abnegation on the part of the people, the stirring of the conscience of the people, the willingness to sacrifice whatever is necessary, the conviction that their destiny can be won by sacrifices, the certain knowledge that they themselves—and only they—can guarantee a better future and that they must rely on themselves, and the realization that heroic peoples are the only ones who have the right to be free, to be happy and to be independent: All this is what encourages us.

It is heartening for us to see that our people are ready to make whatever sacrifice necessary, that they have the courage to cope with any risk that arises, and have courage enough to let our enemies know that if they come, that if they drop bombs, and if they fire their guns at us in attacks upon us, the nation will be defended as long as a drop of blood remains in any of our people.

Cuba will never surrender, every house will be a fortress; we will fight on every terrain necessary and with all kinds of weapons, and those who plot to take over Cuba will—as Maceo used to say—find only dust mixed with blood.

\* \* \*

So, if we cannot buy planes, we will fight on the ground when the fight comes down to the ground. If they persist in dropping bombs, we will build underground shelters and tunnels. The people are in a fighting mood, and we shall immediately begin training



the farmers and the workers and the students. The tribunals of war and the Revolutionary military courts will be re-established and the pilots who land on Cuban territory will inexorably go before the firing squad. We will defend our country by fighting on every terrain necessary, and if England does not sell us the planes, we will buy them where they will sell them to us. If there is no money [in the treasury] to buy combat planes, the people will [give the money to] buy planes.

And right here, right here, my friend Almeida, I give you the pay checks of the President of Cuba and of the Prime Minister, as a contribution to buy planes.

In closing, I want only to say:

The Land Reform is here to stay.

The Petroleum Law is here to stay.

The Mining Law is here to stay.

The Revolutionary measures taken to defend Cuba are here to stay.

The Education Reform is here to stay.

The Reform of the University and all our reforms are here to stay.

If anybody wants to criticize us for this, let them criticize us.

If they accuse us, [for this] let them accuse us; if they attack us, [for this] let them attack us.

We shall fight those who dare plan the destruction of the revolution. And we take an oath in the name of the people of Cuba—that is, in the name of you and us—that either Cuba will triumph or we shall all die [striving toward that triumph].

Now, more than ever, we take for our own the words of our national anthem: "Hasten to the fight Cubans, the country is proudly watching: do not fear a glorious death. To die for your country is to live on"

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ory will absolve me!



*History Will Absolve Me*

Translation from the Spanish of  
a defense plea by Fidel Castro.

105-2-1-1

THIRD PRINTING  
MAY, 1960

*In memory of the seventy young men who  
became martyrs of Moncada on July 26,  
1953.*

\* \* \*

*Translation of the foreword  
that appeared in the first edi-  
tion of "La Historia Me Absol-  
vera," which was clandestinely  
printed and circulated in June,  
1954.*



We are now approaching the first anniversary of that heroic effort made [July 26, 1953] when a handful of young men armed with little more than their ideals and their self-respect engaged the forces of tyranny in mortal combat. A group of Cuban intellectuals, united in a common cause and inspired by admiration for the 26th of July Movement have decided to publish the complete text of Dr. Fidel Castro's defense plea delivered on October 16th, 1953, before the Emergency Tribunal of Santiago de Cuba.

This publication was made possible through the help of two reporters who attended that memorable session and made available to us the shorthand notes they took there.

Dr. Castro was not tried along with the other accused. The trial in which he undertook his own defense had hardly begun when he was illegally removed from the trial proceedings and prevented from appearing until after the sessions had ended. He was later tried in a room of the City Hospital. With the exception of a few newspapermen, whose reports were completely forbidden by the censorship enforced by National Law, the public was barred from the trial. It was clear that the regime was extraordinarily interested in muffling Dr. Castro's pronouncements. But, despite these circumstances, the speech delivered by Fidel Castro in his own defense is considered the most formidable and courageous indictment yet delivered before a Cuban court of law. It is the most devastating judgment anyone has ever levelled at the present regime of force. The way in which the 26th of July attack was carried out; the revolutionary movement's program; the repulsive crimes perpetrated [by the regime] on the prisoners after

the uprising; the shameful and immoral liaison of the Judiciary Department with the Dictatorship; and the principles of law and justice which supported the revolutionaries in their struggle—all this is set forth in a clear and eloquent language which makes no concessions to babbity or hypocrisies of the present era. The speech offers the incomparable spectacle of a solitary figure consecrated in body and soul, to defend the truth. From the very first paragraph the reader is held entranced and [will not want] to put it down before reading the last paragraph. The reader receives the profound impression that our national problems have been judged in new terms—terms of implacable logic and acuteness which prove his assertions with irrefutable arguments and data from beginning to end. We believe that the publication of this document is the most formidable reply that can be made to the mediocre and servile American writer who was paid from the public coffers and was provided with an abundance of falsehoods to write the recent biography in praise of Batista—the multi-millionaire with a suite at the Waldorf Astoria. That writer, a traitor to the land of Lincoln, glorifies the cruel dictator from the land of Marti. But Batista's true biography and his black role in Cuba's destiny is recorded for posterity in this speech made by Fidel Castro, less to a weak and subservient court than to the tribunal of history.

This twenty-seven year old Cuban is today virtually buried alive in a wretched cell on the Isle of Pines, forbidden to speak to another human being, shut off from his country and his family . . . and simply because the regime fears the truth he has written with his sacrifice and martyrdom.

This speech of high moral and idealistic value will also be published abroad, where better printing facilities exist, and it will be distributed throughout the democracies of Latin America as an example of the courage and idealism of Cuban youth—youth who yearned to make their country worthy of the respect and affection with which all Latin America remembered the *Apóstol* during his centenary. Such was their vision that, in their oppressed homeland, they did not hesitate to present him the homage of their own lives.

The Dictator [Batista] denies Cubans their dignity as men. Thus, his hatred and anger for those valiant men who openly defy his power. Seventy young Cubans, cruelly assassinated after the fight, raise their arms from their graves to accuse him, and the voices of twenty-nine living martyrs buried in the somber sheds of the Isle of Pines, are beginning to resound to the heavens demanding punishment of the assassins.

This voice of hope for our country in the midst of today's atmosphere of cowardice and corruption, will grow stronger and louder, no matter how few may speak out for truth in this age of shame. So many of us remain silent, filled with fear and disloyalty to the nation, that we believe a great service will be rendered to the country by publishing the unforgettable words of a Cuban worthy of the name.

To those who, in sinister prisons, are paying so dearly for their devotion to Cuba, we send out the love and hope of their people.

1954, La Habana, Cuba

Honorable Magistrates:

Never has a lawyer had to practice his profession under more difficult conditions; never against an accused have more overwhelming irregularities been committed. Here, counsel and accused are one and the same. As attorney for the defense I have been denied even a look at the indictment. As the accused, I have been, for the past seventy-six days, shut away, in solitary confinement—held incommunicado in violation of every legal and human consideration.

He who is speaking abhors—with all his being—anything that might be vain or childish. Neither by his temperament nor by his present frame of mind is he inclined towards oratorical poses—or towards any kind of sensationalism. I am compelled to plead my own defense before this court. There are two reasons: first, because I have been deprived almost entirely of legal aid; second, because only he who has been outraged as deeply as I, and who has seen his country so forsaken, its justice so reviled, can speak on an occasion like this with words that are made of the blood of his own heart and the very marrow of truth.

There was no lack of generous colleagues who would have defended me and the Bar Association of Havana appointed a courageous and competent jurist, Dr. Jorge Pagliery, Dean of the Bar of



this city, to represent me in this case. But he was not permitted to perform his undertaking. The prison gates were closed to him as often as he tried to see me. Only after a month and a half, and through the intervention of the Court, was he [finally] granted a ten-minute interview with me in the presence of a sergeant of the Military Intelligence Service. [SIM].\*

It is taken for granted that a lawyer should converse privately with his client. This right is respected all over the world—except here, where a Cuban prisoner of war is in the hands of an implacable tyranny that abides by no code, legal or humane. Neither Dr. Pagliery nor I were willing to tolerate such spying upon our strategy of defense for the oral trial. Did they, perhaps, want to know in advance how we would reduce to dust the elaborate falsehoods they had woven around the events of *Cuartel Moncada*\* and how we were going to expose the terrible truths they would go to such very great lengths to conceal? It was then that I decided to make use of my professional status as lawyer. I resolved to assume my own defense.

This decision, first overheard by the sergeant and then reported [to his superiors] provoked among them a singular panic; it seemed as though some mocking little imp were hinting that all their plans might come to naught. You know well enough, Honorable Magistrates, how much pressure has been brought to bear upon me to strip me of the accused man's right to plead his own defense—a right that has been sanctified by long tradition in Cuba. The court could not support the government's machinations, for that would have left the accused man altogether undefended. Said accused, who is now exercising this right to do his own pleading, will under no circumstances mute what he ought to say. I deem it essential to cite, at the outset, what was the reason for the relentless isolation to which I have been subjected; what was the motive for keeping me silent; what prompted the plot to kill me—a plot with which the Court is familiar; what grave facts are being hidden from the people; and what is the secret behind all the strange things that have taken place during this trial. All this I propose to do with the utmost clarity.

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*Sim.* Servicio de Inteligencia Militar. Batista's secret political police.

*Moncada.* Military garrison near Santiago de Cuba, capital of Oriente Province. This garrison was the object of an unsuccessful attack on the 26th of July, 1953, by Fidel Castro and 125 other young men. The date eventually became the official name of a movement which, four years later was able to depose Batista's regime.

\* Plot. Prison officer, Capt. J. Yanes, disobeyed orders, denounced plot.

## II.

You have publicly called this case the most significant in the history of the Republic. If you sincerely believed so, you should not have allowed the trial to be degraded, time after time, by the flouting of your authority.

The first court session was held on the 21st of September. Scandalously invading the courtroom were a hundred [soldiers armed with] machine guns and bayonets. They surrounded the more than a hundred persons seated in the prisoner's dock. The majority of these accused had in no way been involved in our acts. They had been under preventive arrest for many days, after suffering all kinds of outrage and abuse in the chambers of the repressive organizations. The rest of the gallant and determined accused were eager and proud to confirm the roles that were theirs in the battle for freedom: to offer an example of unusual self-sacrifice, and to deliver from the jaws of jail the ones whom [the regime] with deliberate bad faith, had included in the trial. Men who had fought each other came face to face once more. Once again, with the cause of justice on our side, we would wage the mighty battle of truth against infamy. Surely, the regime was not prepared for the moral catastrophe in store for it.

How could the regime maintain its false accusations? How could it keep secret all that had really transpired, while so many young men were willing to run any risk—jail, torture, death, if need be—to denounce [the Army's acts] before the court?

In the first session, I was a witness. For two hours I was questioned by the court's prosecutor as well as by twenty defense attorneys. I was able to prove with exact facts and figures the sums of money that had been invested, the way in which this money was collected, and the arms that we had managed to assemble. I had nothing to hide since all this was achieved by a self-abnegation unsurpassed in the struggles of our Republic. I spoke of the aims which inspired us in our struggle and of the humane and generous treatment that we had at all times accorded to our adversaries. If I accomplished my purpose of demonstrating the non-involvement, direct or indirect, of those men who were falsely implicated in this trial, I owe it to the complete support and backing of my heroic comrades. For, as I said, mere concern over consequences would not make them regret or repent being rebels and patriots. I was never

allowed to talk with them in prison; yet we were in full accord as to how to proceed. When men bear the same ideals in their hearts, nothing can keep them incommunicado: neither walls of prisons nor sod of cemeteries. For a single memory, a single spirit, a single idea, a single conscience, a single dignity, will sustain them all.

From that moment on, the structure of lies the regime had erected around Camp Moncada began to collapse like a house of cards. As a result, the prosecutor understood how absurd it was to keep in prison all those persons named as instigators. Immediately he demanded their provisional release.

At the close of my testimony in that first session, I asked that the court allow me to leave the dock and sit among the counsel for the defense; this permission was, in effect, granted to me. At this point began what I considered my most important mission in this trial: utterly to discredit the cowardly, base and treacherous—shameless!—slanders that the regime had hurled against our fighters; to reveal with irrefutable evidence the frightful, repulsive crimes they had practiced on those of our companions whom they captured; and to bring before the nation and the world the infinite misfortune of Cuba's people, who are now enduring the most cruel—the most inhuman—oppression in all their history.

The second session convened on Tuesday, September the twenty-second. After only ten witnesses had testified, I was able to call attention to the murders in the Manzanillo\* region. I specifically established and placed on record the direct responsibility of the captain commanding that post. There were three hundred more witnesses to testify. What would happen when—with a staggering mass of facts and evidence—I should proceed to cross-examine the very Army men who were directly responsible for those crimes? Could the regime permit me to go ahead—before the large audience in attendance? Before journalists and jurists from all the island? And before the opposition party leaders, whom it had stupidly seated right in the prisoner's dock where they could now hear so distinctly all that might be brought out here? The regime would have dynamited the courthouse—with all its magistrates—rather than allow this!

They devised a plan to eliminate me from the trial and proceeded to do so *manu militari*. Friday night, the 25th of Septem-

*Manzanillo.* Large port town in the south-western sector of Oriente Province where some of the fiercest battles between Castro's men and Batista's

ber, on the eve of the third session of the trial, two prison doctors visited me in my cell. They were visibly embarrassed. "We have come to examine you," they told me. I asked: "Who is so concerned about my health?" Actually, from the moment I first saw them, I realized what they had in mind. They could not have treated me with greater chivalry, and they explained [their predicament] to me. In the afternoon, Colonel Chaviano\* had appeared at the prison and had told them I "was doing the Government terrible damage at the trial." He had said they must sign a certificate declaring that I was ill—and, was, therefore, unable to come to court. The doctors told me that they—for their part, were prepared to resign from their posts and to risk persecution. They put the matter in my hands, for me to decide. I found it hard to ask those men to destroy themselves without vacillation. But neither could I, under any circumstances, consent that their orders be carried out. To leave the matter to their own consciences, I answered only: "You must know your duty; I surely know mine."

After leaving my cell they signed the certificate. I know they did so, believing in good faith, that this was the only way they could save my life—which they considered to be in the greatest danger. I was not obliged to keep our conversation secret, for I am bound only by truth. Telling the truth in this instance may jeopardize those good physicians in their material interests. But I am removing all doubt about their honor—and that is worth much more. The same night, I wrote the court a letter denouncing the plot; requesting two forensic physicians be sent to certify my excellent state of health, and informing you that if, to save my life, I should need to collaborate in such a deception, I would a thousand times prefer to lose it. To show my resolve to fight alone against all this low conniving, I added to my own words a concept of the *Maestro*.\* A rightful cause, from the depths of a cave, can accomplish more than [any] army."

As the court is aware, Dr. Melba Hernandez\* submitted that letter at the third session of the trial, September twenty-sixth. I managed to get it to her despite the unrelenting watch under

*Chaviano.* Colonel Alberto del Rio Chaviano. Commander of the Army in the Manzanillo sector.

*Maestro.* Refers to Jose Marti (1853-1895) Cuban author and patriot in the War of Independence emancipating Cuba from Spanish rule.

*Dr. Melba Hernandez.* one of the two girls who took part in the 26th of July

which I was kept. That letter, of course, caused immediate reprisals: Dr. Hernandez was subjected to solitary confinement, and I—since I was already incommunicado—was sent to the most inaccessible part of the prison. From that time on, all the accused were painstakingly searched, head to foot, before they were brought to the courtroom.

Two court physicians [examined me] September twenty-seventh and certified I was, in fact, in perfect health. And yet, in spite of the court's repeated orders, never again was I brought to the trial sessions. Moreover, every day, anonymous persons circulated hundreds of apocryphal pamphlets in which there was [preposterous] talk of my rescue from jail. This stupid alibi was invented to explain—as escape!—the abduction they intended. Since the scheme failed as a result of timely exposure by my alert friends, and after the first medical affidavit was revealed to be false, [the regime] could keep me away from the trial only by open and shameless contempt of court.

An unheard-of situation had arisen, Honorable Magistrates. Here was a regime afraid to bring an accused before the courts; a regime of blood and terror which shrank in fear at the moral conviction of a defenseless man—unarmed, slandered and isolated. Thus, having deprived me of all else, they finally deprived me of the trial in which I was the principal accused.

Bear in mind that this was during a period of suspension of rights of the individual and while there was in full force the Law of Public Order as well as censorship of radio and press. What dreadful crimes this regime must have committed, to so fear the voice of one accused man!

### III.

I must dwell upon the insolence and disrespect which the army leaders have, at all times, shown toward you. As often as this court has outlawed the inhuman isolation in which I was held; as often as it has ordered my most elementary rights to be respected; as often as it has demanded that I be brought before it, this court was never obeyed! One after another, all its orders were disregarded. Worse yet: in the very presence of the court, during the first and second sessions, a praetorian guard was stationed beside me to prevent me

completely from speaking to anyone, even during the brief recesses. In other words, not only in prison, but even in the very courtroom and in your presence, they ignored your decrees. I had intended to mention this matter in the following session, as a question of elementary respect for the court, but . . . I was never brought back. And when, in exchange for so much disrespect, they bring us before you, to be sent to jail in the name of a statute which they—and only they—have been violating since the 10th of March, sad indeed is the role they would force upon you. The Latin maxim, *cedant arma togae*,\* has certainly not been fulfilled on a single occasion during this case. I beg you to keep that circumstance well in mind.

Furthermore, these devices were, after all, quite useless; my brave comrades, with unprecedented patriotism, did their duty to the utmost.

"Yes, we set out to fight for Cuba's freedom and we do not regret having done it," they declared, one by one, on the witness stand. Then, addressing the court with imposing courage, they denounced the hideous crimes practiced upon the bodies of our brothers. Although absent from court, I was able, in my prison cell, to follow the trial in all its details; (for this I must thank the convicts at Boniato Prison). Despite all threats, these men found ingenious means to get newspaper clippings and all kinds of information into my hands. In this way, they avenged the abuses and immoralities of both the warden Taboada and the supervisor, Lieutenant Rozabal, who [not only] drive them from dawn to dusk building private mansions, but moreover starve them by embezzling the prison food budget.

As the trial progressed, roles were reversed: those who came to accuse found themselves accused, and the accused became the accusers! It was not the revolutionaries who were judged there; judged once and for all time was a man named Batista . . . MONSTRUM HORRENDUM! . . . It matters less that those worthy and valiant young men have been condemned, if tomorrow the people will condemn the Dictator\* and his henchmen. Our men were consigned to the Isle of Pines Prison, in whose circular galleries the ghost of

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*Cedant arma togae.* Let arms yield to the toga.

*Dictator.* Fulgencio Batista Zaldivar.

Castell\* lingers on, and where the cries of countless victims echo yet; there our boys have been sent to expiate their love of liberty—in bitter confinement, sequestered away from society, torn from their homes and banished from their country. [Now that they are disposed of] do you not believe—as I said before—that it is difficult and thankless for their lawyer to finish [their defense]?

As a result of so many obscure and illegal machinations, due to the *will* of those who govern and the *weakness* of those who judge, I find myself here in this little room\* of the Civil Hospital—to which I have been brought to be tried in secret; so that my voice may be stifled and so that no one may learn of the things I am going to say. Why, then, do we need that imposing Palace of Justice\* which the Honorable Magistrates would without doubt find rather more comfortable? I must warn you: it is unwise to administer justice from a hospital room, surrounded by sentinels with bayonets fixed; the citizens might suppose that our justice is sick . . . and that it is captive . . .

I remind you, your laws of procedure provide that trials shall be “both audible and public;” however, the people have been barred altogether from this session of court. The only civilians admitted here have been two attorneys and six reporters, whose newspapers censorship will prevent from printing a word that I say. I see, as my sole audience, in this chamber and in the corridors, nearly a hundred soldiers and officers. I am grateful for the polite and serious attention they give me. I only wish I could have the whole Army before me! I know, one day this army will seethe with rage to wash away the awful, the shameful bloodstains splattered across the uniform by the present ruthless clique in their lust for power. On that day, oh, what a fall awaits those mounted, in arrogance, on the backs of the noble soldiers!—provided, that is, that the people have not pulled them down long before!

Finally, I should like to add that no treatise on penal law was allowed to be brought to my cell. I have at my disposal just this tiny code of law lent to me by my learned counsel, Dr. Baudilio Castellanos, the courageous defender of my comrades. In the same way they prohibited me from receiving the books of Martí; it seems the

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Castell. Notorious Isle of Pines warden who murdered prisoners there.  
Little room. nurses lounge in the hospital.

prison censorship considered them too subversive. Or is it because I named Martí as the instigator of the 26th of July?

I was also prevented from bringing to this trial reference books on any other subject. It makes no difference whatsoever! I carry in my heart the teachings of the *Maestro* and in my mind the noble ideas of all men who have [ever] defended the freedom of the peoples of the world!

I am going to make only one request of this court; I trust it will be granted as a compensation for the many abuses and outrages the accused has had to tolerate without protection of the law. I ask that my right to express myself be respected without restraint. Otherwise, even the merest semblance of justice cannot be maintained, and the last episode [of this trial] would be, more than any other, one of ignominy and cowardice.

#### IV.

I must confess that I am somewhat disappointed. I had expected that the Honorable Prosecutor would come forward with a grave accusation. I thought he would be ready to justify, to the limit, his contention—and his reasons why—I should be condemned in the name of Law and Justice (what law and what justice?) to 26 years in prison. But no. He has confined himself to an oral reading of Article 148 of the Social Defense Code. On the basis of this, plus aggravating circumstances, he demands I be imprisoned for the considerable term of 26 years! Two minutes seems very little time in which to demand and justify that a man be put behind bars for more than a quarter of a century. Can it be that the Honorable Prosecutor is, perhaps, annoyed with the court? Because, as I see it, his laconic attitude in this case mocks the solemnity with which the Honorable Magistrates declared, rather proudly, that this was a trial of great importance! I have seen prosecutors speak ten times longer in a simple narcotics case asking a sentence of only six months. The Honorable Prosecutor has supplied not a word in support of his petition. I am a just man . . . I realize that for a prosecuting attorney under oath of fidelity to the Constitution of the Republic, it is difficult to come here in the name of an unconstitutional, *de facto* government, lacking any legal—much less moral—basis, and ask that a young Cuban, a lawyer like himself, perhaps

as honorable as he, be sent to jail for 26 years. But the Honorable Prosecutor is a gifted man and I have seen much less talented persons write lengthy diatribes in defense of this regime. How, then, can I suppose that he lacks reasons with which to defend it, at least for fifteen minutes, however, contemptible that might be to any decent person? There can be no doubt that there is some noteworthy conspiracy behind all this.

## V.

Honorable Magistrates: Why such interest in keeping me quiet? Why forego those arguments that could serve as a target against which I might direct my own brief? Is it that they lack any legal, moral, and political foundations on which to base a serious statement of the question? Are they so afraid of the truth? Do they hope that I, too, will speak for only two minutes and that I will not here touch upon the points which have caused certain persons sleepless nights since the 26th of July? Since the prosecutor's petition was restricted to the mere reading of five lines of an article of the Social Defense Code,\* they might suppose that I would limit myself to these same lines and circle round and round them, like a slave turning a millstone. But I shall by no means accept such a gag, for in this trial there is at stake much more than the freedom of a single individual. Fundamental matters of principle are being debated here, the right of men to be free is on trial, the very foundations of our existence as a civilized and democratic nation are in the balance. When this trial is over, I do not want to have to reproach myself for any principle left undefended, for any truth left unsaid, for any crime left unnamed.

The Honorable Prosecutor's famous little article deserves hardly a minute of my time. I shall limit myself, for the moment, to a brief juridical skirmish against it, because I want to clear the field for an attack against all of the endless lies and deceptions, the hypocrisy, the babbitttry, and the moral cowardice that set the stage for the crude comedy which, since the 10th of March—and even before then—has been called Justice in Cuba.

It is a fundamental principle of Penal Law that an imputed

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*Social Defense Code.* created at the time of Constitution of 1940.

offense must correspond exactly to the offense as described in the law. If no law applies exactly to the controversial point, there is no offense.

The article in question says textually: "A penalty of imprisonment of from three to ten years shall be imposed upon the perpetrator of any act aimed at bringing about an armed uprising against the CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF THE STATE. The penalty shall be imprisonment for from five to twenty years, in case the insurrection actually be carried into effect.

In what country is the Honorable Prosecutor living? Who has told him that we have sought to bring about an uprising against the CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF THE STATE? Two things are self-evident. In the first place, the dictatorship that oppresses the nation is not a CONSTITUTIONAL POWER, but an unconstitutional one; it was established against the Constitution, over the head of the Constitution, violating the legitimate Constitution of the Republic. The legitimate Constitution is that which emanates directly from a sovereign people. I shall demonstrate this point more fully later on, notwithstanding all the subterfuges contrived by cowards and traitors to justify the unjustifiable. In the second place, the article speaks of Powers, in the plural, not the singular, because it refers to the case of a republic governed [jointly] by a Legislative Power, an Executive Power and a Judicial Power which balance and counterbalance one another. We have fomented a rebellion against one single power, an illegal power, which has usurped and merged into a single whole both the Legislative and Executive Powers of the nation, and has thus destroyed the entire system that was specifically safeguarded by the Code now under our analysis. As to the independence of the Judiciary after the 10th of March, I shall not allude to that for I am in no mood for joking. No matter how Article 148 may be stretched, shrunk or amended, not a single comma applies to the events of the 26th of July. Let us leave this statute alone [just now] and await the opportunity to apply it to those who really *did* foment uprising against the Constitutional Powers of the State. Later, I shall refer back to the Code to refresh the Honorable Prosecutor's memory about certain circumstances he has unfortunately overlooked.

I warn you: I have just begun! If there is in your hearts a vestige of love for your country, of love for humanity, of love for justice, listen attentively to me. I know I will be silenced for many



years; I know [the regime] will try to suppress the truth by all possible means; I know there will be a conspiracy to sink me into oblivion. But my voice will not be stifled; strength gathers in my breast even when I feel most alone, and the ardour of my own heart can sustain my voice, no matter how callous cowards may isolate and try to discourage me.

## VI.

From a shack in the mountains, I listened to [the radio broadcast\* by] the dictator on Monday, July 27th, while there were still 18 of our men in arms against the Government. Those who never experience similar moments will never be acquainted with bitterness and indignation in life. While the long-cherished hopes of freeing our people lay in ruins about us, we heard those crushed hopes gloated over by a tyrant more vicious, more arrogant, than ever. The endless stream of lies and slanders poured out in his crude, odious, repulsive language must be compared with the endless stream of clean young blood which had flowed since the previous night—flowed with his knowledge, consent, complicity and applause—being spilled by the most inhuman gang of assassins it is possible to imagine. To have believed him for one single minute should suffice to fill a man of conscience with remorse, for the rest of his life. At that moment I could not even hope to brand his miserable forehead with [the] mark of truth which condemns him for the rest of his days and for all time to come; already there was closing in around us a net of more than a thousand men, armed with weapons more powerful than ours and with peremptory orders to bring in our bodies. Now that people are beginning to learn the truth, now that—speaking before you—I am completing the mission I then set myself, I will be able to die peaceful and content. So I shall not mince words about the savage murderers.

Let us pause to consider the facts. The government said the attack showed such precision and perfection that military strategists must have done the planning. Nothing could be further from the truth. The plan was prepared by a group of young men, none of whom had any military experience; I am going to reveal their names, omitting those of two boys still alive and free: Abel San-

*Radio broadcast. from Camp Columbia, Havana.*

tamaria, Jose Luis Tasende, Renato Guitart Rosell, Pedro Miret, Jesus Montané and this speaker. Half are dead, and in the tribute due their memory I can say that although they were *not* military experts, they had patriotism enough that—had we not been under such great disadvantages—they could have given a good beating to the entire lot of generals of the 10th of March—those generals who are neither soldiers nor patriots.

Much more difficult than planning the attack was our organizing, training, mobilizing and arming of men during this repressive regime with its millions of dollars spent on espionage, bribery and informers. Nevertheless, all our undertaking was accomplished—by the young men just mentioned and by many others like them—with incredible earnestness, discretion and constancy. Still, most praiseworthy, always, is their giving to an ideal, everything they had—ultimately, giving their very lives.

The final mobilization of men who came to this province from the most remote towns of the entire island was accomplished with admirable precision and in absolute secrecy. It is equally true that the attack was carried out with magnificent coordination. It began simultaneously at 5:15 A.M., in both Bayamo and Santiago de Cuba; and one by one, with an exactitude of minutes and seconds foreseen in advance, the buildings surrounding the barracks fell to our forces. Nevertheless, in the interests of accuracy, and even though it may detract from our reputation, I am also going to reveal a fact that was fatal: due to a most unfortunate error, half of our forces—and the better armed half, at that—went astray at the entrance to the city and were not on hand to help us at the decisive moment. Abel Santamaria, with 21 men, had occupied the City Hospital; with him went a doctor and two of our girl comrades, to attend the wounded. Raul Castro, with ten men, occupied the Palace of Justice and it was my responsibility to attack the barracks with the rest, 95 men. Preceded by an advance guard of eight who had forced Gate Three, I arrived with the first group of 45 men. It was precisely here that the battle began, when my automobile ran into a perimeter patrol armed with machine-guns. The reserve group, who had almost all the heavy weapons [the light arms were in the

*Bayamo.* Large and historically significant town in the fertile region of the Cauto valle. The Cuban National Anthem was originally written in honor of the gallant Bayameses who joined the rebellious forces with a battle cry known as "el Grito de Baire" of 1895.

advance guard] turned up the wrong street and lost their way in this city, with which they were not familiar. I must clarify that I do not for a moment doubt the valour of those men; they experienced great anguish and desperation when they realized they were lost. Because of the type of action under way and because of the identical color of the uniforms of the two contending forces, it was not easy for these men to reestablish contact with us. Many of them, captured later on, met death with true heroism.

We all had strict instructions to be, above all, humane in the struggle. Never was a group of armed men more generous to the adversary. From the very first, we took numerous prisoners—eventually nearly twenty—and there was one moment when three of our men—Ramiro Valdes, Jose Suarez and Jesus Montane—managed to enter a barracks and hold nearly fifty soldiers prisoners for a short time. Those soldiers have testified before the court, and all without exception have acknowledged that we treated them with absolute respect, without even offending them by the use of an unpleasant word. Apropos of this, I want to give the prosecutor my heartfelt thanks for one thing in the trial of my comrades: When he made his report, he was fair enough to acknowledge as an incontestable fact that we maintained a high spirit of chivalry throughout the struggle.

Discipline among the soldiers was very poor. They finally defeated us, because of their superiority in numbers—fifteen to one—and because of the protection afforded them by the defenses of the fortress. Our men were much the better marksmen, as our enemies conceded. Courage was high on both sides.

In reflecting on the causes for our tactical failure, apart from the regrettable error already mentioned, I believe we made a mistake by dividing the commando unit we had so carefully trained. Of our best trained men and boldest leaders, there were 27 in Bayamo, 21 in the City Hospital and 10 in the Palace of Justice. If our forces had been otherwise distributed, the outcome of the battle might have been different. The clash with the patrol (purely accidental, since the unit would not have been at that point twenty seconds earlier or twenty seconds later) alerted the camp and gave them time to mobilize. Otherwise the camp would have fallen without a shot since the guard post was already in our control. On the other hand, except for the .22 calibre rifles, for which there were plenty of bul-

lets, our side was very short of ammunition. Had we had hand grenades, the Army would not have been able to resist us for fifteen minutes.

When I became convinced that all efforts to take the fort had now become quite futile, I began to withdraw our men in groups of eight and ten. Our retreat was covered by six expert marksmen under the command of Pedro Miret and Fidel Labrador; heroically they impeded the Army's advance. Our losses in the battle had been insignificant; 95% of our casualties came from the army's inhumanity *after* the struggle. The group in the City Hospital had but one casualty; the rest of that group were trapped when the troops blocked that building's one exit; but our boys did not lay down their arms until their very last bullet was gone. With them was Abel Santamaria, the most generous, beloved, and intrepid of our young men, whose glorious resistance immortalizes him in the history of Cuba. We shall see the fate they met and how Batista sought to castigate the heroism of our youth.

Our plans were to continue the struggle in the mountains in case the attack on the regiment were to fail. In Siboney I was able to gather together a third of our forces; but many of these men were now discouraged. About twenty of them decided to surrender; later we shall see what became of them. The rest, 18 men, with what arms and ammunition was left, followed me into the mountains. The terrain was completely unknown to us. For one week we held the heights of the Gran Piedra range and the Army occupied the foothills. We could not come down, and they could not decide to come up. It was not force of arms but hunger and thirst that ultimately overcame our resistance. I had to divide the men into smaller groups. Some managed to slip through the Army lines; others were escorted in to be surrendered by Monsignor Perez Serantes.\* Finally, only two companions remained with me: Jose Suarez and Oscar Alcalde. While the three of us were totally exhausted, a force led by Lieutenant Sarria surprised us in our sleep at dawn. This was Saturday, August the first. The slaughter of prisoners had ceased now, as a result of tremendous protest by the people. This officer, a man of honor, saved

*Monsignor Perez Serantes.* Archbishop of Santiago. He sympathized with and actively supported the struggle against Batista; his intervention obtained promise of t 1 for Castro and few other young men who had escaped the torture and murder of rebels immediately following their July 26th attempt.

us from being murdered on the spot, with our hands tied [behind us].

I need not deny here the statements by Ugalde Carrillo and company, who tried to blacken my name in an effort to mask their own cowardice, incompetence, and criminality. The facts are clear enough.

My purpose is not to detain the court with epic narrations. All I have said is essential for the more exact understanding of the rest of my plea.

Let me mention two facts that enable objective judgment of our attitude. First: to facilitate capture of the regiment we could simply have seized all the high ranking officers in their homes. This possibility was rejected for the very humane reason that we wished to avoid scenes of tragedy and struggle in the presence of their families. Second: we agreed not to take over any radio station until the Army camp was in our power. This attitude, uncommonly gallant and magnanimous, spared the citizens much bloodshed. With only ten men I could have seized a radio station, to draw the people into the revolt. The people's will to fight could not be questioned. I had a recording of Eduardo Chibás last message on C.M.Q.\* [I also had] patriotic poems and battle hymns capable of moving the least sensitive—especially with the sound of battle in their ears. But I did not want to use [these incitements] although our situation was desperate.

## VII

The regime has emphatically repeated that our movement did not have popular support. I have never heard an assertion so naive, and at the same so full of bad faith. The regime seeks to show the submission and cowardice of the people. They almost claim that the people support the Dictatorship; they do not know how this pretense offends the brave *Orientales*. Santiago thought our attack was only a local disturbance between two factions of soldiers; not until many hours later, did they realize what had happened. Who can doubt the valour, the civic pride and the limitless courage of the

Eduardo Chibás. Cuban senator, leader of the *Partido del Pueblo Cubano* (Cuban Peoples' Party), also known as the *Ortodoxo* Party. He was a favorite candidate in the presidential campaign of 1952. Chibás, in a wave of depression provoked by the political apathy of the people and by sedition in his own ranks, took his own life shortly before the coup of the 10th of March.

rebel and patriotic people of Santiago de Cuba? If Moncada had fallen into our hands, even the women of Santiago de Cuba would have shouldered arms. Many were the rifles loaded for our fighters by the nurses of the City Hospital! They fought alongside us. That is something we shall never forget.

It was never our intention to engage the soldiers of the regiment in combat, but to seize control and weapons by surprise, to arouse the people and then call the soldiers together. We would have invited them to abandon the flag of tyranny and to embrace the banner of Liberty; to defend the supreme interests of the nation and not the petty interests of a small group; to turn their guns around and fire on the enemies of the people and not fire on the people, among whom are their own sons and fathers; to join with the people themselves, brothers of ours that they are, instead of opposing the people as the enemies the government tried to make of them; to march behind the only beautiful ideal worthy of the sacrifice of one's life—the greatness and the happiness of one's country. To those who doubt that many soldiers would have followed us, I ask: What Cuban does not cherish glory? What heart is not set aflame by the dawn of freedom?

The Navy did not fight against us, and it would undoubtedly have come over to our side later. It is known that that branch of the Armed Forces is the least dominated by the Dictatorship and that there is a very intense civic conscience among its members. But, as regards the rest of the national armed forces, would they have fought against a people in revolt? I declare that they would not! A soldier is made of flesh and blood; he thinks, observes and feels. He is susceptible to the opinions, beliefs, sympathies and antipathies of the people. If you ask his opinion he may tell you he cannot express it; but that does not mean he has no opinion. He is affected by exactly the same problems that affect other citizens: subsistence, rent, the education of his children, their future, etc. Every one of his kin is an inevitable point of contact between him and the people and everyone of his kin relates him to the present and future situation of the society in which he lives. It is foolish to presume that the salary a soldier receives from the State—a modest enough salary, moreover—should solve the vital problems posed for him by his needs, duties and sentiments as a member of his family and as a member of his community.



This brief explanation has been necessary because it is fundamental to a consideration to which few people, until now, have paid any attention: soldiers have a profound respect for the sentiments of the majority of the people! During the Machado\* regime, in the same proportion as popular antipathy increased, the loyalty of the Army visibly decreased. This was so true that a group of women almost succeeded in subverting Camp Columbia. But this is proved even more clearly by a recent development. While Grau San Martin's\* regime was able to preserve its maximum popularity among the people, unscrupulous ex-officers and power-hungry civilians attempted innumerable conspiracies in the Army. But none of them found a following in the rank and file:

### VIII

The coup of the 10th of March\* occurred at the moment when the civil government's prestige had dwindled to its lowest ebb, a circumstance of which Batista and his clique took advantage. Why did they not strike their blow after the first of June? Simply because, had they waited for the majority of the nation to express its will at the polls, the troops would not have responded to the conspiracy!

Consequently, a second assertion can be made: the Army has never revolted against a regime with a popular majority behind it. These are historic truths, and if Batista insists on remaining in power at all costs against the will of the majority of Cubans, his end will be more tragic than that of Gerardo Machado.

I have the right to express an opinion about the Armed Forces; I defended them when everyone else was silent. And I did this neither as a conspirator, nor from any kind of personal interest (for we then enjoyed full constitutional prerogatives). I was prompted only by humane instincts and civic duty. In those days, the news-

*Machado.* Gerardo Machado y Morales. Originally elected during the sugar boom (1924). Gerardo Machado was a popular president who turned out to be a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, assuming dictatorial powers in 1928 and precipitating a period of bloody civil strife which ended in 1933.

*Grau San Martin.* Ramon Grau San Martin, acknowledged leader of the liberal movement that grew around the nucleus of intellectuals who fought against Machado. Grau's party, after an unsuccessful try in 1934, was constitutionally elected in 1944.

*10 of March.* 10th of March, 1952, date of military coup by which Batista seized control of the government; near the close of Prios' term as elected president.

paper "Alerta" was one of the most widely read because of its position in national politics. In its pages, I campaigned against the forced labor to which the soldiers were subjected on the private estates of high civil and military figures. On the third of March, 1952, I supplied the courts with data, photographs, films and other proofs denouncing this state of affairs. I also pointed out in those articles that it was elementary decency to increase Army pay. I should like to know who else raised his voice on that occasion to protest against [all the] injustice done the soldiers. Certainly not Batista and Company,\* living well-protected on their luxurious estates, surrounded by all kinds of security measures, while I ran a thousand risks without either bodyguards or arms.

Just as I defended the soldiers then, now—when all others are again silent—I tell the soldiers that they allowed themselves to be miserably deceived; and to the deception and shame of the 10th of March, they have added the disgrace—a thousand times greater disgrace—of the frightful and unjustifiable crimes of Santiago de Cuba. Since that time, the uniform of the Army remains degraded. Just as last year I told the people, and decried before the courts, that soldiers were working as slaves on private estates, so today I make the bitter charge that there are soldiers stained through and through with the blood of the Cuban youths they have tortured and slain. And I also say that when the Army serves the Republic, defends the nation, respects the people, and protects every citizen, it is only fair that the soldier should earn at least a hundred dollars a month. But when the soldiers slay and oppress the people, betray the nation and defend the interests of one clique, the Army deserves not a cent of the Republic's money and [I add] that Camp Columbia should be converted into a school with ten thousand orphans installed there, instead of soldiers.

### IX

Since, above all things, I wish to be just, I cannot blame all the soldiers for the crimes and the shame that is the work of a few Army men who are evil and treacherous. However, every honorable and upstanding soldier who loves his career and his uniform is duty-bound to demand and to fight for the cleansing of this guilt, for the

At this time Batista was senator in Cuba and also a candidate for presidency in forthcoming elections.

avenging of his betrayal, and for the punishment of the guilty. Otherwise, the soldier's uniform will be forever a mark of infamy, instead of a source of pride.

Naturally, the 10th of March regime had no choice but to remove the soldiers from private estates. But Batista did so only to put them to work as porters, chauffeurs, servants and bodyguards to the whole rabble of petty politicians who form the party of the Dictatorship. Every fourth or fifth rank official considers himself entitled to the services of a soldier—to drive his car and to shield his back, as though he were constantly afraid of receiving the kick he so richly deserves.

If there had been any real intention of reform, why did the regime not confiscate all the estates and the millions [of pesos] from men like Genovevo Perez Damera,\* who acquired their fortunes exploiting soldiers, driving them like slaves, and misappropriating the funds of the Armed Forces? But no; Genovevo and the others no doubt still have soldiers protecting them on their estates because, the generals of the 10th of March, deep down inside, expect to follow their example. The regime dared not set a precedent of punishment.

The 10th of March was indeed a miserable deception. After Batista and his band of corrupt and disreputable politicians had failed in their electoral plans, they took advantage of the Army's discontent and used it to climb to power on the backs of the soldiers. I know there are many [Army] men disgruntled because they have been disappointed. At first, their pay was raised; but later, by means of deductions and reductions of every kind, it was lowered again; many of the old elements, which had drifted away from the Armed Forces, returned to the ranks and blocked the advancement of young, capable and valuable men. Good soldiers have been neglected while the most scandalous nepotism prevails. Many decent military men are now asking themselves what need had the Armed Forces to assume the tremendous historical responsibility of destroying our Constitution, merely to put in power a group of immoral men. [Especially these] men of bad reputation, corrupt, politically degenerate beyond redemption, who could never again have occupied a political post had it not been at the point of bayonets—furthermore, bayonets they did not even wield themselves!

*Genovevo Perez.* Genovevo Perez, Chief of Staff under both Grau San Martin and Prio Socarras, was largely responsible for the Cuban Army's demoralization, which facilitated Batista's coup in 1952.

The soldiers endure a tyranny even worse than the civilians. They are under constant surveillance and not one of them enjoys the slightest security in his post. Any unjustified suspicion, any gossip, any intrigue, or denunciation, is sufficient to cause transfer, dismissal or dishonorable imprisonment. Did not Tabernilla,\* in a circular, forbid them to talk with any one opposed to the government—that is to say, with ninety-nine percent of the people? What distrust! Not even the Vestal Virgins of Rome were required to observe such a rule! As for the widely publicized soldier's housing, there are no more than 500 in all the island; and yet, with what has been spent on tanks, guns and other weapons there would have been enough money to build a house for each enlisted man.

What concerns Batista is not to take care of the Army, but that the Army should take care of him! To augment the Army's power of oppression and killing is not to increase well-being among the soldiers. Triple guard duty, constant confinement to barracks, continual anxiety, the enmity of the people, uncertainty about the future—that's what has been given the soldier. In other words: "Die for the regime, soldier, give it your sweat and blood. We shall dedicate a speech to you and award you a posthumous promotion (when it no longer matters) and afterwards—we shall go on living luxuriously, making ourselves rich. Kill, abuse, oppress the people. When the people grow weary and all this comes to an end, you shall pay for our crimes, while we go abroad to live like princes. And if, one day, we return, do not knock—neither you nor your children—on the doors of our mansions, for we shall be millionaires, and millionaires do not know the poor. Kill, soldier, oppress the people, die for the regime, give your sweat and blood . . ."

## X

But, if blind to that sad reality, a minority of soldiers had decided to fight the people—the people who were going to liberate them too from tyranny—still victory would have gone to the people. The Honorable Prosecutor was very much interested in knowing our chances for success. These chances were based on considerations of technical, military and social orders. There has been an attempt to establish the myth that modern arms render the people helpless

*Tabernilla.* General Francisco Tabernilla, Chief of Armed Forces under Batista.

to overthrow tyrants. Military parades and the pompous display of the machines of war are utilized to perpetuate this myth and to create in the people a complex of absolute impotence. But no weapon, no violence can vanquish the people once they have decided to win back their rights. Both past and present are full of examples. Most recently there has been the revolt in Bolivia, where miners with dynamite sticks laid low the Regular Army regiments. But, fortunately, we Cubans need not look for examples abroad. No example is as inspiring as that of our own land. During the war of 1895 there were nearly half a million armed Spanish soldiers in Cuba—many more than the Dictator counts upon today to hold back a population five times greater. The arms of the Spanish were, beyond comparison, both more up-to-date and more powerful than those of the patriots. In many of the contests, [the Spanish] were equipped with field artillery and the infantry used carbines similar to those still in use by the infantry of today. The Cubans were armed only with their machetes, for their cartridge belts were nearly always empty. There is an unforgettable passage in the story of our war of independence, narrated by General Miro Argentes,\* Chief of State for Antonio Maceo.\* I managed to bring it copied on this little note, in order not to depend upon memory.

"Untrained men under the command of Pedro Delgado, most of them equipped only with machetes, were virtually annihilated as they threw themselves on the solid ranks of Spaniards. It is not an exaggeration to assert that of every fifty men, 25 were killed. Some even attacked the Spaniards with bare fists, without pistols, without machetes, without even knives. Searching through the reeds by the Hondo River, fifteen more dead of the Cuban party were found and it was not immediately evident to what group they belonged. They did not appear to have shouldered arms, their clothes were intact and only tin drinking cups hung from their waists; a few steps ahead lay a dead Spanish horse, all its equipment intact. We reconstructed the climax of the tragedy. These men, following their daring chief, Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Delgado, had earned heroes' laurels; they had thrown themselves against bayonets with bare hands; the clash of metal which was heard around them was the sound of their drinking cups banging against the saddle-horn."

*General Miro Argentes.* Catalanian general who became one of the leaders of the War of Independence. Father of Dr. Miró Cardona, the first premier of the present Revolutionary government.  
*Antonio Maceo.* 1848-1896 The "Titan of Bronze", the most spectacular warrior of Cuba's War of Independence.

Maceo was deeply moved. This man so accustomed to seeing death in all its forms, murmured this praise: "I had never seen this—untrained and unarmed men, attacking the Spaniards with only a drinking cup for a weapon. And I called it an *impedimental*!"

This is how the people fight when they want to win their liberty; they throw stones at airplanes and overturn tanks!

## XI

As soon as Santiago de Cuba was in our hands, we would immediately have readied the people for war. Bayamo was attacked precisely to situate our advance forces along the Cauto River. Never forget that this province which has a million and a half inhabitants today, provides without a doubt the best resistance and the most patriotic men of Cuba. It was this province that continued the fight for independence for thirty years and paid the highest tribute in blood, sacrifice and heroism. In Oriente, you can still breathe the air of that glorious epoch. At dawn, when the cocks crow as if they were bugles calling soldiers to reveille, and when the sun rises, radiant, over the rugged mountains, it seems that once again we will hear the cry of Yara or Baire.\*

I stated that the second consideration on which we based our chances for success was one of social order because we were assured of the people's support. When we speak of the people we do not mean the comfortable ones, the conservative elements of the nation, who welcome any regime of oppression, any dictatorship, any despotism, prostrating themselves before the master of the moment until they grind their foreheads into the ground. When we speak of struggle, the *people* means the vast unredeemed masses, to whom all make promises and whom all deceive; we mean the people who yearn for a better, more dignified and more just nation; who are moved by ancestral aspirations of justice, for they have suffered injustice and mockery, generation after generation; who long for great and wise changes in all aspects of their life; people, who, to attain these changes, are ready to give even the very last breath of their lives—when they believe in something or in someone, especially when they believe in themselves. In stating a purpose, the first condition of

*Yara and Baire.* "Yara" on October 10, 1868, was the first battlecry for independence. The cry of "Baire" on February 24, 1895, announced the final drive to liberate Cuba from Spanish rule.

sincerity and good faith, is to do precisely what nobody else ever does, that is, to speak with absolute clarity, without fear. The demagogues and professional politicians who manage to perform the miracle of being right in everything and in pleasing everyone, are, of necessity, deceiving everyone about everything. The revolutionaries must proclaim their ideas courageously, define their principles and express their intentions so that no one is deceived, neither friend nor foe.

The people we counted on in our struggle were these:

Seven hundred thousand Cubans without work, who desire to earn their daily bread honestly without having to emigrate in search of livelihood.

Five hundred thousand farm laborers inhabiting miserable shacks, who work four months of the year and starve for the rest of the year, sharing their misery with their children, who have not an inch of land to cultivate, and whose existence inspires compassion in any heart not made of stone.

Four hundred thousand industrial laborers and stevedores whose retirement funds have been embezzled, whose benefits are being taken away, whose homes are wretched quarters, whose salaries pass from the hands of the boss to those of the usurer, whose future is a pay reduction and dismissal, whose life is eternal work and whose only rest is in the tomb.

One hundred thousand small farmers who live and die working on land that is not theirs, looking at it with sadness as Moses did the promised land, to die without possessing it; who, like feudal serfs, have to pay for the use of their parcel of land by giving up a portion of their products; who cannot love it, improve it, beautify it or plant a lemon or an orange tree on it, because they never know when a sheriff will come with the rural guard to evict them from it.

Thirty thousand teachers and professors who are so devoted, dedicated and necessary to the better destiny of future generations and who are so badly treated and paid.

Twenty thousand small business men weighted down by debts, ruined by the crisis and harangued by a plague of filibusters and venal officials.

Ten thousand young professionals: doctors, engineers, lawyers, veterinarians, school teachers, dentists, pharmacists, newspapermen, painters, sculptors, etc., who come forth from school with their de-

grees, anxious to work and full of hope, only to find themselves at a dead end with all doors closed, and where no ear hears their clamor or supplication.

These are the people, the ones who know misfortune and, therefore, are capable of fighting with limitless courage!

To the people whose desperate roads through life have been paved with the brick of betrayals and false promises, we were not going to say: "we will eventually give you what you need, but rather — Here you have it, fight for it with all your might so that liberty and happiness may be yours!"

## XII

In the brief of this cause there must be recorded the five revolutionary laws that would have been proclaimed immediately after the capture of the Moncada barracks and would have been broadcast to the nation by radio. It is possible that Colonel Chaviano may deliberately have destroyed these documents, but even if he has done so, I conserve them in my memory.

The First Revolutionary Law would have returned power to the people and proclaimed the Constitution of 1940 the supreme Law of the land, until such time as the people should decide to modify or change it. And, in order to effect its implementation and punish those who had violated it—there being no organization for holding elections to accomplish this—the revolutionary movement, as the momentous incarnation of this sovereignty, the only source of legitimate power, would have assumed all the faculties inherent to it, except that of modifying the Constitution itself: In other words it would have assumed the legislative, executive and judicial powers.

This approach could not be more crystal clear nor more free of vacillation and sterile charlatany. A government acclaimed by the mass of rebel people would be vested with every power, everything necessary in order to proceed with the effective implementation of the popular will and true justice. From that moment, the Judicial Power, which since March 10th has placed itself *against* the Constitution and *outside* the Constitution, would cease to exist and we would proceed to its immediate and total reform before it would again assume the power granted to it by the Supreme Law of the Republic. Without our first taking those previous measures, a return to legality by putting the custody of the courts back into the hands that have

crippled the system so dishonorably would constitute a fraud, a deceit, and one more betrayal.

The Second Revolutionary Law would have granted property, not mortgageable and not transferable, to all planters, sub-planters, lessees, partners and squatters who hold parcels of five or less "caballerias"\* of land, and the state would indemnify the former owners on the basis of the rental which they would have received for these parcels over a period of ten years.

The Third Revolutionary Law would have granted workers and employees the right to share 30% of the profits of all the large industrial, mercantile and mining enterprises, including the sugar mills. The strictly agricultural enterprises would be exempt in consideration of other agrarian laws which would have been implemented.

The Fourth Revolutionary Law would have granted all planters the right to share 55% of the sugar production and a minimum quota of forty thousand "arrobas"\* for all small planters who have been established for three or more years.

The Fifth Revolutionary Law would have ordered the confiscation of all holdings and ill-gotten gains of those who had committed frauds during previous regimes, as well as the holdings and ill-gotten gains of all their legatees and heirs. To implement this, special courts with full powers would gain access to all records of all corporations registered or operating in this country [in order] to investigate concealed funds of illegal origin, and to request that foreign governments extradite persons and attach holdings [rightfully belonging to the Cuban people]. Half of the property recovered would be used to subsidize retirement funds for workers and the other half would be used for hospitals, asylums and charitable organizations.

Furthermore, it was to be declared that the Cuban policy in the Americas would be one of close solidarity with the democratic people of this continent, and that those politically persecuted by bloody tyrants oppressing our sister nations would find generous asylum, brotherhood, and bread in the land of Marti. Not the persecution, hunger and treason that they find today. Cuba should be the bulwark of liberty and not a shameful link in the chain of despotism.

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*Caballeria.* tract of land, about 33 1/3 acres.  
*Arroba.* 25 pounds.

### XIII

These laws would have been proclaimed immediately, as soon as the upheaval were ended and prior to a detailed and far-reaching study, they would have been followed by another series of laws and fundamental measures, such as, the Agrarian Reform, Integral Reform of Education, nationalization of the Utilities Trust and the Telephone Trust, refund to the people of the illegal excessive rates this company has charged, and payment to the Treasury of all taxes brazenly evaded in the past.

All these laws and others would be inspired in the exact fulfillment of two essential articles of our Constitution. One of these orders the outlawing of feudal estates by indicating the maximum area of land any person or entity can possess for each type of agricultural enterprise, by adopting measures which would tend to revert the land to the Cubans. The other categorically orders the State to use all means at its disposal to provide employment to all those who lack it and to insure a decent livelihood to each manual laborer or intellectual.

None of these articles may be called unconstitutional. The first popularly elected government would have to respect these laws, not only because of moral obligation to the nation, but because when people achieve something they have yearned for throughout generations, no force in the world is capable of taking it away again.

The problems concerning land, the problem of industrialization, the problem of housing, the problem of unemployment, the problem of education and the problem of the health of the people; these are the six problems we would take immediate steps to resolve, along with the restoration of public liberties and political democracy.

Perhaps this exposition appears cold and theoretical if one does not know the shocking and tragic conditions of the country with regard to these six problems, to say nothing of the most humiliating political oppression.

85% of the small farmers in Cuba pay rent and live under the constant threat of being dispossessed from the land that they cultivate. More than half the best cultivated land belongs to foreigners. In *Oriente*, the largest province, the lands of the United Fruit Company and West Indian Company join the north coast to the southern one. There are two hundred thousand peasant families who do not have a single acre of land to cultivate to provide food for their starving



children. On the other hand, nearly three hundred thousand "cahallerias" of productive land owned by powerful interests remains uncultivated.

Cuba is above all an agricultural state. Its population is largely rural. The city depends on these rural areas. The rural people won the Independence. The greatness and prosperity of our country depends on a healthy and vigorous rural population that loves the land and knows how to cultivate it, within the framework of a state that protects and guides them. Considering all this, how can the present state of affairs be tolerated any longer?

#### XIV

With the exception of a few food, lumber and textile industries, Cuba continues to be a producer of raw materials. We export sugar to import candy, we export hides to import shoes, we export iron to import plows. Everybody agrees that the need to industrialize the country is urgent, that we need steel industries, paper and chemical industries; that we must improve cattle and grain products, the technique and the processing in our food industry, in order to balance the ruinous competition of the Europeans in cheese products, condensed milk, liquors and oil, and that of the Americans in canned goods; that we need merchant ships; that tourism should be an enormous source of revenue. But the capitalists insist that the workers remain under a Claudian\* yoke; the State folds its arms and industrialization can wait for the Greek calends.

Just as serious or even worse is the housing problem. There are two hundred thousand huts and hovels in Cuba; four hundred thousand families in the country and in the cities live cramped into barracks and tenements without even the minimum sanitary requirements; two million two hundred thousand of our urban population pay rents which absorb between one fifth and one third of their income; and two million eight hundred thousand of our rural and suburban population lack electricity. If the State proposes lowering rents, landlords threaten to freeze all construction; if the State does not interfere, construction goes on so long as the landlords get high rents, otherwise, they would not lay a single brick even though the rest of the population should have to live exposed to the elements.

*Claudius Caecus*. refers to Roman Emperor who so oppressed the plebians that they left Rome.

The utilities monopoly is no better: they extend lines as far as it is profitable and beyond that point, they don't care if the people have to live in darkness for the rest of their lives. The State folds its arms and the people have neither homes nor electricity.

Our educational system is perfectly compatible with the rest of our national situation. Where the *guajiro*\* is not the owner of his land, what need is there for agricultural schools? Where there are no industries what need is there for technical or industrial schools? Everything falls within the same absurd logic: there is neither one thing nor the other. In any small European country there are more than 200 technical and industrial arts schools; in Cuba, there are only six such schools, and the boys graduate without having anywhere to use their skills. The little rural schools are attended by only half the school-age children—barefoot, half-naked and undernourished—and frequently the teacher must buy necessary materials from his own salary. Is this the way to make a nation great?

#### XV

Only death can liberate one from so much misery. In this, however, —early death—the state is most helpful. 90% of rural children are consumed by parasites which filter through their bare feet from the earth. Society is moved to compassion upon hearing of the kidnapping or murder of one child, but they are criminally indifferent to the mass murder of so many thousands of children who die every year from lack of facilities, agonizing with pain. Their innocent eyes —death already shining in them—seem to look into infinity as if entreating forgiveness for human selfishness, as if asking God to stay his wrath. When the head of a family works only four months a year, with what can he purchase clothing and medicine for his children? They will grow up with rickets, with not a single good tooth in their mouths by the time they reach thirty; they will have heard ten million speeches and will finally die of misery and deception. Public hospitals, which are always full, accept only patients recommended by some powerful politician who, in turn, demands the electoral votes of the unfortunate one and his family so that Cuba may continue forever the same or worse.

With this background, is it not understandable that from May

*Guajiro*. term usually refers to modest and underprivileged farmers in Oriente province.

to December over a million persons lost their jobs, and that Cuba, with a population of five and a half million, has a greater percentage of unemployed than France or Italy with a population of forty million each?

When you judge a defendant for robbery, Your Honors, do you ask him how long he has been unemployed? Do you ask him how many children he has, which days of the week he ate and which he didn't, do you concern yourselves with his environment at all? You send him to jail without further thought. But those who burn warehouses and stores to collect insurance do not go to jail, even though a few human beings should have happened to [be cremated with the property insured]. The insured have money to hire lawyers and bribe judges. You jail the poor wretch who steals because he is hungry; but none of the hundreds who steal from the Government has ever spent a night in jail; you dine with them at the end of the year in some elegant place and they enjoy your respect.

In Cuba when a bureaucrat becomes a millionaire overnight and enters the fraternity of the rich, he could very well be greeted with the words of that opulent Balzac character, Taillefer, who, in his toast to the young heir to an enormous fortune, said: "Gentlemen, let us drink to the power of gold! Mr. Valentine, a millionaire six time over has just ascended the throne. He is king, can do everything, is above everything—like all the rich. Henceforward, equality before the law, before the Constitution, will be a myth for him; for he will not be subject to laws, the laws will be subject to him. There are no courts or sentences for millionaires."

The future of the country and the solution of its problems cannot continue to depend on the selfish interests of a dozen financiers, nor on the cold calculations of profits that ten or twelve magnates draw up in their air-conditioned offices. The country cannot continue begging on its knees for miracles from a few golden calves, similar to the Biblical one destroyed by the fury of a prophet. Golden calves cannot perform miracles of any kind. The problems of the Republic can be solved only if we dedicate ourselves to fight for that Republic with the same energy, honesty and patriotism our liberators had when they created it.

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*Carlos Saladrigas.* Batista's presidential candidate in 1944 elections, Saladrigas was defeated.

## XVI

It is not by statesmen such as Carlos Saladrigas,\* whose statesmanship consists of preserving the status quo and mouthing phrases like the "absolute freedom of enterprise," "guarantees to investment capital" and "the law of supply and demand," that we will solve these problems. Those ministers can chat gaily in a mansion on Fifth Avenue\* until there remains not even the dust of the bones of those whose problems required immediate solution. In this present-day world, social problems are not solved by spontaneous generation.

A revolutionary government with the backing of the people and the respect of the nation, after cleaning the various institutions of all venal and corrupt officials, would proceed immediately to industrialize the country, mobilizing all inactive capital, currently estimated at about 1500 million dollars, through the National Bank and the Agricultural, Industrial and Development Bank, and submitting this mammoth task to experts and men of absolute competence, completely removed from all political machinations, for study, direction, planning and realization.

After settling the one hundred thousand small farmers as owners on land which they previously rented, a revolutionary government would proceed immediately to settle the land problem. First, as the Constitution orders we would establish the maximum amount of land to be held by each type of agricultural enterprise and would acquire the excess acres by: expropriation, recovery of the lands stolen from the State, improvement of swampland, planting of large nurseries and reserving of zones for reforestation. Secondly, we would distribute the remaining land among peasant families with priority given to the larger ones, and would promote agricultural cooperatives with a single technical, professional direction in farming and cattle raising. Finally, we would provide resources, equipment, protection and useful guidance to the peasants.

A revolutionary government would solve the housing problem by cutting all rents in half, by providing tax exemptions on homes inhabited by the owners; by tripling taxes on rented homes; by tearing down hovels and replacing them with modern multiple-dwelling buildings; and by financing housing all over the island on a scale heretofore unheard of; with the criterion that, just as each rural family should possess its own tract of land, each city family should own its

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*Fifth Ave.:* located in Miramar residential district of Havana.

home or apartment. There is plenty of building material and more than enough manpower to make a decent home for every Cuban. But if we continue to wait for the miracle of the golden calf, a thousand years will have gone by and the problem will still be the same. On the other hand, today there are greater than ever possibilities of bringing electricity to the remotest corner of the island. The use of nuclear energy in this field is now a reality and will greatly reduce the cost of producing electricity.

With these three projects and reforms, the problem of unemployment would automatically disappear and the work to improve public health and to fight against disease would be made much less difficult.

Finally, a revolutionary government would undertake the integral reform of the educational system, bringing it in line with the foregoing projects with the idea of educating those generations who will have the privilege of living in a happy land. Do not forget the words of the Apóstol\*: "A serious error is being made in Latin America: where the inhabitants depend almost exclusively on the products of the soil for their livelihood, the education stress, contradictorily, is on urban rather than farm life." "The happiest people are the ones whose children are well-educated and instructed in philosophy; whose sentiments are directed into noble channels." "A well-educated people will always be strong and free."

The spirit of education lies, however, in the teacher himself and in Cuba the teaching profession is miserably underpaid. Despite this, no one is more dedicated than the Cuban teacher. Who among us has not learned his ABC's in the little public schoolhouse? It is time we stopped paying pittance to these young men and women who are entrusted with the sacred task of teaching the young. No teacher should earn less than \$200, no secondary professor should get less than \$350, if they are to devote themselves exclusively to their high calling without suffering want. Moreover, all rural teachers should have free use of the various systems of transportation; and, at least every five years, all teachers should enjoy a sabbatical leave of six months with pay so they may attend special refresher courses at home and abroad to keep abreast of the latest developments in their field. In this way, the curriculum and the teaching system may be constantly improved.

Where will the money be found for all this? When there is an end to rife embezzlement of government funds, when public officials

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*Apóstol.* Refers to Jose Martí.

stop taking graft from the large companies who owe taxes to the State, when the enormous resources of the country are brought into full use, when we no longer buy tanks, bombers and guns for this country (which has no frontiers to defend and where these instruments of war, now being purchased, are used against the people) when there is more interest in educating the people than in killing them — then there will be more than enough money.

## XVII

Cuba could easily provide for a population three times as great as it now has, so there is no excuse for the abject poverty of a single one of its present inhabitants. The markets should be overflowing with produce, pantries should be full, all hands should be working. This is not an inconceivable thought. What is inconceivable is that anyone should go to bed hungry, that children should die for lack of medical attention; what is inconceivable is that 30% of our farm people cannot write their names and that 99% of them know nothing of Cuba's history. What is inconceivable is that the majority of our rural people are now living in worse circumstances than were the Indians Columbus discovered living in the fairest land that human eyes had ever seen.

To those who would call me a dreamer, I quote the words of Martí: "A true man does not seek the path where advantage lies, but rather, the path where duty lies, and this is the only practical man, whose dream of today will be the law of tomorrow, because he who has looked back on the upheavals of history and has seen civilizations going up in flames, crying out in bloody struggle, throughout the centuries, knows that the future well-being of man, without exception, lies on the side of duty."

## XVIII

Only when we understand that such high ideals inspired them, can we conceive of the heroism of the young men who fell in Santiago.

The meager material means at our disposal was all that prevented our certain success. When the soldiers were told that Prío\*

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*Dr. Carlos Prío Socarras.* Participated in overthrow of Machado, later becoming member of Grau San Martín's cabinet, finally was elected President of Cuba in 1933.



made against our fighters, in his speech on July 27th, that would have been enough to undermine the moral impact of my case. Why then, was I not brought to trial? Why were medical certificates forged? Why did [the regime] violate all laws during the proceedings and desecrate so scandalously the rulings of the Court? Why were so many things done—things never before seen done in a court of law—in order to prevent my appearance at all costs? In contrast I could not begin to tell you all I went through in order to appear. I asked the Court to bring me to trial in accordance with all established principles, and I denounced the underhanded schemes that were afoot to prevent it. I wanted to argue with [my accusers] face to face.

But they did *not* wish to [face me]. Who was telling the truth and who was not? The declarations made by the Dictator at Camp Columbia could be considered amusing if so many lives were not involved.

He claimed we were a group of hirelings and that amongst us were many foreigners. He said that the central part of our plan was an attempt to kill him—him, him, always him. As if the men who attacked Camp Moncada could not have killed him and twenty like him, had they approved of [private assassination] tactics.

He stated that our attack had been planned by ex-president Prió—and that it had been financed with Prió's money. It has been proved irrefutably that there existed no link whatsoever between our movement and the last regime.

He claimed that we had machine guns and handgrenades. Yet the military technicians have stated right here that we had only one machine gun and not a single hand-grenade.

He said that we had beheaded the sentries. Yet death certificates and medical reports of all the army's casualties show no deaths were caused by the blade.

But, above all—and most important—he said that we stabbed patients at the Military Hospital. Yet the doctors of that hospital—mind you, Army doctors—have testified we never even occupied *that* building, that no patient was either wounded or killed by us, and that the hospital lost only one employee—a janitor who imprudently put his head out an open window.

## XXI

Whenever a Chief of State—or anybody pretending to be one—makes declarations to the country, he speaks not just to hear the sound of his own voice. He always has some specific motive and expects some specific reaction. Since we had already been defeated militarily, inasmuch as we no longer represented any actual danger to the dictatorship, why did they slander us in such a fashion? If it is still not clear that his speech was just an attempt to justify the crimes that they had been committing since the night before—and which they were going to continue committing—then, let the numbers speak for me.

On the 27th of July, in his speech from the military headquarters, Batista said that the assailants suffered 33 dead. At the end of the week, the number of dead had risen to more than 80 men. In what battles, in what places, in what clashes, did these young men die? Before Batista spoke, more than 25 prisoners had been murdered. After Batista spoke, fifty more were murdered.

What a great sense of honor was shown by those soldiers and officers, who did not distort the facts before the court but gave their reports adhering to the strictest truth. These surely are soldiers who honor the uniform, and these, surely, are men! Neither a real soldier nor a true man can degrade his code of living with lies and crime.

I know that many of the soldiers are indignant at the barbaric assassinations committed. I know that they feel repugnance and shame at the smell of homicidal blood that impregnates every stone of Camp Moncada.

Now that he has been contradicted by men of honor among his own army, I defy the dictator to repeat his vile slander against us. I defy him to try to justify before the Cuban people, his speech of the 27th of July.

Let him not be quiet. Let him speak. Let him say who are the assassins, the ruthless, the inhumane. Let him tell us if the medals of honor, which he went to pin on the breasts of his heroes of the massacre, were reward for the hideous crimes they had committed. Let him, from this very moment, assume his responsibility before history. Let him not pretend, at a later date, that the soldiers were acting without orders from him! Let him offer the nation an explanation for these 70 murders. There was a lot of bloodshed. The nation needs an explanation. The nation demands it.

It was common knowledge that in 1933, at the end of the battle at the Hotel Nacional, some officers were murdered after surrendering; Bohemia Magazine protested energetically. It was known too that after the surrender of Fort Atarés, the besiegers' machine guns cut down a row of prisoners. And that one soldier, demanding "Who is Blas Hernández?"\* then blasted Blas Hernández\* with a bullet directly in the face—and for this cowardly act was promoted to officer's rank.

It was well known in Cuban history that assassination of prisoners was fatally linked with the name of Batista. Such naiveté on our part [not to foresee what would happen.] However — unjustifiable as those acts were in 1933 — they happened in a matter of minutes, in no more time than it took for a round of machine gun fire. Furthermore they happened while combat nerves were still on edge. It was not thus in Santiago de Cuba. Here all forms of vicious abuse were [deliberately] overdone.

Our men were killed not in the course of a minute, an hour or a day. Throughout a whole week the blows, the torture, and the shots continued, ceasing not for an instant — as methods of grisly amusement — wielded by well-practiced artisans of crime. Camp Moncada was converted into a workshop of torture and death. And some base individuals exchanged their uniforms for butchers aprons. The walls were splattered with blood. The bullets imbedded in the walls were encrusted with singed bits of skin, brains and human hair — the grisly reminders of rifle shots full in the face. The grass around the barracks was dark and sticky with human blood. The criminal hands that are guiding the destiny of Cuba had written for the prisoners at the entrance of that den of death the very inscription of Hell: "Abandon all hope."

## XXII

They did not even attempt to disguise appearances. They did not bother in the least to conceal what they were doing. They thought they had deceived the people with their lies and they ended deceiving themselves. They felt themselves lords and masters of the universe, with power over life and death. So the fear they had experienced upon our attack at daybreak was dissipated in an orgy of cadavers — in a true drunkenness by blood.

*Blas Hernandez.* Officer of the Atarés regiment who was shot in the act of surrendering.

Chronicles of our history, down through four and a half centuries, tell us of many acts of cruelty — the slaughter of defenseless Indians by the Spaniards; the plundering and atrocities of pirates along the coast; the barbarities of the Spanish soldiers during the War of Independence; the shooting of prisoners of the Cuban army by the forces of Weyler; the horrors of the Machado regime — and so on to the crimes of March 1935. But with none was there written a page so bloody, so sad — in the number of victims and in the viciousness of those who victimized — as in Santiago de Cuba eleven weeks ago.

Only one man in all these centuries has stained with blood two separate periods of our historic existence and has dug his claws into the flesh of two generations of Cubans. To release this river of blood, he waited for the Centenary\* of the *Apostol*, and the fiftieth anniversary of the Republic, [whose people gained] freedom, human rights, and happiness by the forfeit of so many lives. Even greater is his crime and even more to be condemned because the man who committed it had already, for eleven long years, lorded over this people — this people who, by such deep-rooted sentiment and tradition, adore freedom and repudiate evil. This man has furthermore never been sincere, loyal, honest or chivalrous for a single minute of his public life. He was not content with the treachery of December 1933,\* the crimes of March 1935 and the forty million dollar fortune that crowned his first regime; he had to add the treason of March 1952, the crimes of July 1953 and a hoard of millions that only time will tell.

Dante divided his hell into nine levels. He put in the seventh the criminals, in the eighth the thieves, and in the ninth the traitors. Difficult dilemma the devils would be faced with, endeavoring to find an adequate destination for the soul of this man—if this man had a soul. The man who encouraged the atrocious acts in Santiago de Cuba has not even human entrails. I heard many details from the lips of some soldiers, full of shame, who recounted to me the wicked scenes they had witnessed.

*Centenary.* By dramatic coincidence, 1953 was the 100th anniversary of Martí's birth and the fiftieth anniversary of Cuba's independence.

*December of 1933.* When Batista realized that Grau San Martín, whom he had placed in power in September, 1933, would be unable to procure recognition from the United States, he maneuvered a switch of military support and precipitated Grau's resignation in January, 1934.

### XXIII

As soon as the fighting was over, the soldiers descended like savage beasts over the city of Santiago. And they indulged their first fury against the defenseless population. In the middle of the street, far from the site where the fighting had taken place, they fired a bullet through the chest of an innocent child, as he was at play beside his doorstep. And when the father approached, to pick him up, they shot him through the forehead with another bullet. Without a word they shot "Nino" Cala, who was on his way home with a loaf of bread in his hands. It would be an endless task to relate all the crimes and outrages committed against the civil population.

When the Army dealt that way with those who had had no part in the action, you can imagine the terrible fate of the prisoners who *had* taken part in the action — or whom they believed to have taken part. Just as, in this trial, they *accused* many people not at all involved in our attack, they also *killed* many prisoners who had not been involved in the attack. The latter are not included in the statistics of victims the regime has given out; those statistics refer exclusively to our own men. Someday the total number of annihilated will be known.

### XXIV

The first prisoner killed was our medico. Dr. Mario Muñoz, who bore no arms, wore no uniform and was dressed in the white smock of Galen. He was a man generous and able, who would have given to the wounded adversary the same devoted care as to a friend. On the road from the City Hospital to the Camp, they shot him in the back and left him lying there, face downward in a pool of blood. But the mass murder of prisoners did not begin until after three o'clock in the afternoon. Until this hour they awaited orders.

Then General Martín Díaz Tamayo arrived from Havana and brought specific instructions from a meeting which he had attended with Batista, along with the head of the army, the head of the Military Intelligence Service, and others. He said: "It is humiliating and dishonorable for the army to have lost in combat three times as many men as the insurgents did. Ten prisoners must be killed for each dead soldier." This was the order.

In every society there are found men of base instincts. These sadists—brutes, conveyors of all the ancestral atavisms—go about in the guise of human beings, but they are monsters only more or less

restrained by discipline and social habit. If they are offered a drink from a river of blood, they will not be satisfied until they drink the river dry.

What these men needed precisely was this order. At their hands the best and noblest of Cuba perished; the most valiant, the most honest, the most idealistic. The tyrant called them "mercenaries. There they were dying as heroes at the hands of men who collect a salary from the Republic, and who, with the arms which the Republic gave them to defend her, serve the interests of a mob and murder the best of her citizens.

### XXV

Throughout their torturing of our comrades the Army offered them a chance to save their lives by betraying their ideologic position and falsely declaring that Prío had given them money. When they indignantly rejected that proposition, the Army continued torturing them horribly. They shattered their testicles and they tore out their eyes. But no one yielded. And no complaint or begging was heard. Even when they had been deprived of their virile organs, our boys were still a thousand times more manly than all their tormentors together. Photographs—which do not lie—show the bodies to have been dismembered.

Other methods were employed. Frustrated by the valour of the men, they tried to break the spirit of the women. With a bleeding human eye in his hands, a sergeant and several other men went to the cell where our comrades Melba Hernández and Haydée-Santamaría were held. Addressing the latter and showing her the eye, they said: "This eye belonged to your brother. If you will not testify what he refused to testify we will tear out the other." She, who loved her valiant brother above all things, replied, full of dignity: "If you tore out an eye and he did not testify falsely, much less will I."

Later they came back and burned her arms with lit cigarettes until at last full of disrespect they told her: You no longer have a fiancé because we have killed him too. But, imperturbable, she answered: "He is not dead; to die for your country is to live on."\*

Never has there been placed on so high a pedestal the heroism and the dignity of Cuban womanhood.

\*—"to die for your country is to live on: phrase of Cuban national anthem.

## XXVI

There was no respect even for combat-wounded in the various hospitals in the city, where they were hunted down as a prey is pursued by a vulture. In the Centro Gallego they broke into the operating room at the very instant when two of our critically wounded were receiving blood transfusions. They yanked them off the tables and, as the wounded could not remain upright, they dragged them down to the basement where they arrived as corpses.

They could not do the same in the Spanish Colony, where Gustavo Arcos and José Ponce were patients, because they were prevented by Dr. Posada who bravely told them they could enter only over his dead body.

Air and camphor were injected into the veins of Pedro Miret, Abelardo Crespo and Fidel Labrador, in an attempt to kill them, in the Military Hospital. They owe their lives to Captain Tamayo, an army doctor, and a true soldier of honor who, with pistol in hand, wrenched them out of their merciless captors' grasp and transferred them to the City Hospital. These five young men were the only ones of our wounded to survive.

In the early morning hours groups of our men were removed from the garrison. They were taken in automobiles to Siboney, La Maya, Songo and elsewhere. Then they were led out—tied, gagged and already disfigured by torture—and were murdered in these out-of-the-way places. They are recorded as having perished in combat against the army. After several days of this procedure, few of the captured prisoners survived.

Many were compelled to dig their own graves. One of our men, while he performed this operation, wheeled around and marked the face of one of his assassins with his pick. Others of our men were buried alive, their hands tied behind their backs.

Many solitary spots have become the graveyards of the brave. On the army target range alone, five of our men lie buried. Someday these men will be disinterred. Then they will be carried on the shoulders of the people to a monument which, alongside the tomb of Martí, their liberated land will surely erect to honor the memory of the Martyrs of the Centenary.

## XXVII

The last youth assassinated in the region of Santiago de Cuba was Mario Martí. With our colleague Ciro Redondo, he was captured in a cave at Siboney on the morning of Thursday the 30th. As these two men, arms upraised, were led down the road, the soldiers shot Mario Martí in the back and after he had fallen to the ground, riddled him with bullets. Redondo was taken to the camp. When Major Pérez Chaumont saw him, he exclaimed: "And this one—why have you brought *him* to me?" The court was able to hear the narration of this incident from the lips of the young man who had survived thanks to what Pérez Chaumont called "the stupidity of the soldiers."

The order was the same throughout the whole province. Ten days after July 26th a newspaper of this city printed the news that two youths had been found hanged on the road from Manzanillo to Bayamo. Later they were identified as the bodies of Hugo Camejo and Pedro Vélez. Another extraordinary incident had taken place there. The victims had been three, removed from Manzanillo barracks at two o'clock in the morning. At a certain spot on the highway, they were taken out, beaten till they were unconscious, and strangled to death with a rope. But, after they had been given up for dead, one of them—Andres García—regained consciousness and took refuge in the house of a farmer. Thanks to this, the Court could learn the details of this crime, too. Of all our men taken prisoner in the Bayamo area, this boy was the only survivor.

Near the Cauto River, in a spot known as Barrancas, at the bottom of a well, lie the bodies of Raúl de Aguiar, Armando del Valle and Andrés Valdés. They were murdered at midnight on the Alto Cedro-Palma Soriano road by Sergeant Montes de Oca, head of the barracks at Miranda, Corporal Maceo, and the Lieutenant in charge of Alto Cedro, where the three murdered men were captured.

## XXVIII

In the annals of evil, distinction is due to Sergeant Eulalio González, known as "the tiger" of Camp Moncada. This man felt no qualms even in bragging about his unspeakable deeds. It was he who

*Rio Cauto.* The longest river in Cuba forming a broad and fertile flood plain in Oriente Province. Many of the towns that achieved historical status both in the War of Independence and in Castro's 26th of July revolt are located in this fertile valley.

with his own hands murdered our comrade Abel Santamaría. But, still he was not satisfied. One day as he was returning from the prison of Puerto Boniato, where he raises pedigreed fighting cocks in the backyard, he boarded a bus on which Abel's mother was travelling. When this monster realized who she was, he began referring to his grisly deeds and in a loud voice—so that the mother, dressed in mourning, could hear him—he said, "Yes, I have extracted many eyes and expect to continue extracting them." In that mother's sobs of grief at the crude and cowardly insolence of the very murderer of her son, we can find expressed beyond power of any words the unprecedented moral opprobrium our nation is suffering. When these selfsame mothers went to Camp Moncada to ask about their sons, they were given an answer unheard-of in its callousness: "Certainly, Madame, you may go see him—at Hotel Santa Efigenia\*, where we have put him up for you." Either Cuba is not Cuba, or the men responsible for these acts will have to meet a dire day of reckoning. Heartless men, they coarsely insulted the Cuban people who uncovered their heads in reverence as the corpses of their young rebels were carried by.

So many were the victims that the government has not yet dared to make public the complete casualty lists. They know that their figures are all out of proportion. They *do* have the names of all the victims, because prior to murdering every prisoner they recorded his vital statistics. The whole long process of identification through the National Cabinet\* was pure pantomime and there are families who still await word of the fate of their sons. Now that almost three months have elapsed, why is the question still open?

I wish to confirm that the victims' pockets were probed for the very last penny and that all their personal effects, rings and watches were stripped from their bodies and are brazenly worn today by their assassins.

## XXIX

A great part of what I have just related, you already know, Honorable Magistrates, from the testimony of many of my colleagues. But please note that many key witnesses have been barred from this

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*Santa Efigenia.* Cemetery in the province of Santiago.  
*National Cabinet.* Identification bureau.

trial, although they were permitted to attend the other sessions of the trial. For example, I point out that the nurses of the City Hospital are absent although they work in the same building where this hearing is taking place. They were prevented from appearing so that, under my questioning, they could not testify to the fact that, besides Dr. Mario Munoz, twenty other men were captured alive here. The regime fears that from the questioning of these witnesses, some extremely dangerous testimony would get into the official trial records.

But Major Perez Chaumont did appear here and he could not elude my questioning. What we learned from this man—a hero who fought only against unarmed and handcuffed men—gives us an idea of what could have been learned at the Courthouse if I had not been isolated from the proceedings. I asked him how many of our men had died in his celebrated skirmishes at Siboney. He hesitated. I insisted and he finally said twenty-one. Since I knew no such skirmishes had ever taken place, I asked him how many of our men had been wounded. He answered: none; all of them had been killed. It was then that I asked him, in astonishment, if the soldiers were using nuclear weapons. Of course, where men are shot point blank, there are no wounded.

I asked him afterwards how many casualties the Army had sustained. He replied that two of his men had been wounded. I asked him finally if neither of those two had died and he said no. I waited. Later, all of the wounded Army soldiers filed by and it was discovered that none of them had been wounded at Siboney. This same Major Perez Chaumont who hardly flinched at having assassinated twenty defenseless young men has built in Ciudadmar Beach a palatial home worth more than \$100,000—his savings after only a few months under Batista's new rule. And if a major has saved this much, what must the generals have saved!

## XXX

Honorable Magistrates: Where are our boys who were captured during the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th of July? There are known to be over sixty captured men from the area of Santiago de Cuba. Only three of them and the two girls have appeared. The rest of the accused were seized later. Where are our wounded? Only five of them are alive, the rest were murdered. The figures are irrefutable.

On the other hand, twenty soldiers who were our prisoners



have been present here and according to their own words received not even an offensive word from us. Before you, also, appeared thirty soldiers who were wounded, many in the street fighting, and none was killed off by us. If the Army losses were nineteen dead and thirty wounded, how is it possible that we should have had eighty dead and five wounded? Who ever witnessed a battle with 21 dead and no wounded, like these extraordinary battles described by Perez Chaurmont?

Here we have the casualty lists of the bitter fighting of the invasion troops of the war of 1895, both where the Cuban Army was victorious and where the Cuban Army was defeated. The Battle of Los Indios at Las Villas: twelve wounded, none dead; Battle of Mal Tiempo: four dead, 23 wounded; Battle of Calimete: sixteen dead, 64 wounded; Battle of La Palma: 39 dead, 88 wounded; Battle of Cacarajicara: five dead, thirteen wounded; Battle of Descanso: four dead, 45 wounded; Battle of San Gabriel del Lombillo: two dead, eighteen wounded. In all of these the number of wounded is two times, three times and up to ten times greater than the number of dead, although in those days, no techniques of modern medicine existed to reduce the percentage of deaths. How then can we explain the fabulous proportion of sixteen deaths per wounded man, if not by the government's slaughter of the wounded in the very hospitals, just as they later assassinated the other helpless prisoners they had taken. The numbers speak out beyond rebuttal.

"It is a shame and a dishonor for the Army to have lost in combat three times as many men as the insurgents lost; we must kill ten prisoners for each dead soldier." This is the concept of honor held by the petty corporals made generals on the 10th of March. This is the code of honor they wish to impose on the National Army. False, pretended and superficial honor based on lies, hypocrisy and crime. [They know they need a mask to hide behind and they try to make] of blood a mask of honor. Who told them men lose their honor when they die fighting? Who told them the honor of an army consists of murdering the wounded and the prisoners of war?

### XXXI

In times of war armies that murder prisoners have always earned the contempt and abomination of the entire world. Such cowardice has no justification even in a case when national territory is invaded

by foreign forces. In the words of a South American liberator: "Not even the strictest military obedience can convert a soldier's sword into a ruthless blade." The honorable soldier does not kill the helpless prisoner after the fight, but rather, respects him. He does not finish off a wounded man, but rather, helps him. He stands in the way of crime and if he cannot prevent it, he imitates that Spanish captain who, upon hearing the report of guns turned on students, indignantly broke his sword in two and refused to continue serving in that army.

The soldiers who murdered prisoners were not worthy of the soldiers who died. I saw many soldiers fight with courage, for example, those in the patrols that fired their machine guns against us in almost body to body combat or that sergeant who, defying death, grabbed the alarm to mobilize the barracks. Some of them live, I am happy for them; others are dead. They believed they were doing their duty and in my sight, this makes them worthy of admiration and respect. I deplore only the fact that valiant men should fall for an evil cause. When Cuba is freed, we should respect, shelter and aid the wives and sons of the courageous soldiers who perished fighting against us. They are not to be blamed for the miseries of Cuba. They are just so many more victims of this nefarious situation.

But the honor gained by the soldiers who died in battle was lost by generals who ordered prisoners to be killed after their surrender. Men who became generals overnight without ever firing a shot, men who bought their stars with high treason to their country, men who ordered the execution of prisoners taken in battles in which they did not participate; these are the generals of the 10th of March—generals who would have been unfit to drive the mules that carried equipment for the army of Antonio Maceo.\*

The Army suffered three times as many casualties as we did. That was because our men were superbly trained, as the army men themselves testified; and because we had prepared adequate tactical measures, as the Army men themselves admitted. The Army failed to perform brilliantly; despite the millions spent for espionage by the Military Intelligence Service, they were taken totally by surprise; and their hand-grenades failed to explode because they were obsolete. All this, the Army owes to generals like Martin Diaz Tamayo and colonels like Ugalde Carrillo and Alberto del Rio Chaviano.

We were not 17 traitors infiltrated in the Army ranks, as was

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*Antonio Maceo. see p. 32.*

the case on the 10th of March. Rather we were 165 men who had crossed the length and breadth of the island to look death boldly in the face. If the Army leaders had had a notion of real military honor they would have resigned their commands instead of trying to wash away their shame and incompetence in the blood of prisoners.

### XXXII

To kill prisoners and then state that they died in combat—that is the military capacity of the generals of the 10th of March. That was the way the worst butchers of Valeriano Weyler\* behaved in the worst days of our War of Independence.

The Chronicles of War narrate the following incident:

"On the 23rd of February, officer Baldomero Acosta entered Punta Brava with some cavalry at the same time that there approached, from the opposite road, a squad of Pizarro's regiment led by a sergeant known around there as Barriguilla (Pot Belly). The insurgents exchanged a few salvos with Pizarro's men, then withdrew by the trail that leads from Punta Brava to the village of Guatao. Followed by another battalion of volunteers from Marianao who were led by Captain Calvo, Pizarro's squad marched on Guatao. As soon as their first forces entered the village they commenced their massacre—killing twelve throughout the peaceful neighborhood and taking the rest prisoners. Not yet satisfied with their outrages, in the outskirts of Guatao they carried out another barbaric execution killing one of the prisoners and horribly wounding the rest. The Marquis of Cervera, a complacent, pomp and circumstance soldier, informed Weyler of the pyrrhic victory of the Spanish soldiers; but Major Zugasti, a man of principle, denounced the incident to the government and officially called the murders perpetrated by the iniquitous Captain Calvo and Sergeant Barriguilla, an assassination of peaceful citizens."

"Weyler's intervention in this horrible incident and his delight upon learning the details of the massacre can be palpably deduced from the official dispatch that he sent to the Ministry of War concerning his cruelties. 'A small regiment organized by a Major from Marianao with forces from the garrison, fought, destroying the troops of Villanueva and Baldomero Acosta near Punta Brava, killing twenty of their men, who were handed over to the Mayor of Guatao for burial, and taking fifteen prisoners, one of them wounded, and assuming many wounded among those who escaped. One of our men

*Valeriano Weyler.* General appointed by Spain to carry out a punitive campaign against Cuba after Maceo's sensational march.

suffered critical wounds, many suffered light bruises and wounds. Weyler.'"

The only difference between Weyler's lines and those of Colonel Chaviano, detailing the victories of Major Perez Chaumont, is that Weyler announces twenty dead and Chaumont 21; Weyler mentions one wounded soldier in his ranks, Chaviano mentions two; Weyler speaks of one wounded man and fifteen prisoners in the enemy ranks, Chaviano records neither wounded men nor prisoners.

Just as I admire the courage of the soldiers who died bravely, I also admire the officers who bore themselves with dignity and did not redden their hands with this blood. Many of the survivors owe their lives to the commendable conduct of officers like Lieutenant Sarria, Lieutenant Camps, Captain Tamayo and others, who were true gentlemen in their treatment of the prisoners. If men like these had not partially saved the name of the Armed Forces, today it would be more honorable to wear a dishrag than to wear an Army uniform.

### XXXIII

For my dead friends, I claim no vengeance. Since their lives were priceless, the murderers could not pay for them with their own lives. It is not by blood that we can redeem the lives of those who died for their country. The happiness of their people is the only tribute worthy of them.

My comrades, furthermore, are neither dead nor forgotten; they live today, more than ever, and their murderers will view with dismay the immortality of the victorious spirit of their ideas. Let the *Apóstol*\* speak for me:

"There is a limit to the tears we can shed at the tombs of the dead. Instead of crying over their bodies, we should go there to contemplate their infinite love for their country and its glory—a love that never falters, loses hope nor grows faint. For the graves of the martyrs are the most beautiful altars of our day.

When one dies  
In the arms of a grateful fatherland  
Death ends, prison walls break—  
Finally, with death, life begins."

*Apóstol.* Jose artí. See p. 15.

#### XXXIV

Up to this point I have confined myself almost exclusively to relating events. Since I am well aware that I am before a court convened to judge me, I will now demonstrate that all legal right was on our side alone, and that the verdict imposed on my comrades—the verdict now being sought against me—has no justification by reason, nor before society and true justice.

I wish to be duly respectful to the Honorable Magistrates and I am grateful that you find in the frankness of my plea no animosity towards you. My argument is meant merely to demonstrate what a false and erroneous position the Judicial System has adopted in the present situation.

To a certain extent, each court is nothing more than a cog in the wheel of this system and therefore, must move along the course determined by the vehicle—although, by no means, does this justify any individual to act against his principles. I know very well that the oligarchy are most to be blamed. The oligarchy, without dignified protest, abjectly yielded to the dictates of the usurper, and betrayed their country by renouncing the autonomy of the Judicial System.

Men who constitute noble exceptions have attempted to mend the system's mangled honor with their individual decisions. But the gestures of this minority have been of little consequence, drowned as they were by the obsequious and fawning majority. Although I am aware of this, it will not stop me, nevertheless, from speaking the truth that supports my cause.

My appearance before this court may be a pure farce to give the semblance of legality to arbitrary decisions, but I am determined to tear down with a firm hand the infamous veil that hides so much shamelessness. It is curious: the very men who have brought me here to be judged and condemned have never heeded a single decision of this court.

Since this trial may, as you have said, be the most important to have taken place since we achieved national sovereignty, what I say here will perhaps be lost in the silence which the dictatorship has tried to impose on me, but posterity will often turn its eyes to what you do here.

Remember that today you are judging an accused man, but that you yourselves will be judged not once, but many times—as often

as these days are submitted to criticism in the future. What I say here will be repeated many times, not because it comes from my lips, but because the problem of justice is eternal and the people have a deep sense of justice, above and beyond the hairsplitting of jurisprudence. The people wield simple but implacable logic, in conflict with all that is absurd and contradictory.

Furthermore, if there is in the world a people that utterly abhors favoritism and inequality, it is the Cuban people. To them justice is symbolized by a maiden with a scale and a sword in her hands. Should she cower before one group and furiously wield that sword against another group, then, to the people of Cuba, the maiden of justice will seem nothing more than a prostitute brandishing a dagger. My logic is the simple logic of the people.

#### XXXV

Let me tell you a story.

Once upon a time there was a Republic. It had its constitution, its laws, its civil rights, a president, a Congress, and law courts. Everyone could assemble, associate, speak and write with complete freedom.

The people were not satisfied with the government officials at that time, but [the people] had the power to elect new officials and only a few days remained before they were going to do so!

There existed a public opinion both respected and heeded and all problems of common interest were freely discussed. There were political parties, radio and television debates and forums, and public meetings. The whole nation throbbed with enthusiasm. This country had suffered greatly and although it was unhappy, it longed to be happy and had a right to be happy. It had been deceived many times and it looked upon the past with real horror. This country believed—blindly—that such a past could not return; the people were proud of their love of liberty and they carried their heads high in the conviction that liberty would be respected as a sacred right; they felt confident that no one would dare commit the crime of violating their democratic institutions. They desired a change for the better, aspired toward progress; and they saw all this at hand. All their hope was in the future.

My poor country! One morning the citizens awakened dismayed; under the cover of night, while the people slept, the ghosts of the past



had conspired and now had seized the citizen body by the limbs . . . by its very throat. That grip, those claws were familiar: those jaws, those death dealing scythes, those boots. No; it was no nightmare; it was a sad and terrible reality: A man named Fulgencio Batista had just committed the appalling crime that no one had expected.

### XXXVI

Then a humble citizen of this country, a citizen who longed to believe in the laws of the Republic and in the integrity of its judges, whom he had seen vent their fury against the underprivileged—opened a code of Social Defense to see what punishment society prescribed for the author of such a coup and he discovered the following:—

“Whosoever shall perpetrate any deed destined through violent means directly to change in whole or in part the Constitution of the State or the form of established government shall incur a sentence of six to ten years in jail.”

“A sentence of three to ten years in jail will be decreed to the author of any act directed to promote an armed uprising against the Constitutional powers of the State. The sentence increases from five to twenty years if the insurrection is carried out.”

“Whosoever shall perpetrate an act with the specific purpose of preventing, in whole or in part, even temporarily, the Senate, the Chamber of Representatives, the President or the Supreme Court from exercising their constitutional functions will incur a sentence from six to ten years in jail. Whosoever shall attempt to impede or tamper with the normal course of general elections, will incur a sentence from four to eight years in jail.”

“Whosoever shall introduce, publish, distribute or attempt to carry out in Cuba any dispatch, order or decree tending to provoke the non-observance of the law will incur a sentence from two to six years in jail.”

“Whosoever shall assume command of troops, posts, fortresses, military camps, towns, warships or aircraft, without the authority to do so, or without express Government orders, will incur a sentence from five to ten years in jail.”

A similar sentence will be passed upon anyone who usurps the exercise of a function held by the Constitution as properly belonging to the powers of State.

With Code in one hand and deposition in the other, that citizen went in our capital to the old building which housed the competent Court which was under obligation to bring cause against and punish those responsible for this deed. He presented a writ denouncing the crimes and asking that Fulgencio Batista and his seventeen accomplices be sentenced to one hundred eight years in jail as decreed by the Code of Social Defense [for their crime], aggravated by second offense treachery and acting under cover of night.

Days and months passed by. What a disappointment! The accused remained unmolested; he strode up and down the country like a great lord and was called honorable sire and general: he removed and replaced judges at will. The very day that the court opened, the criminal occupied the seat of honor in the midst of our august and venerable patriarchs of justice.

### XXXVII

Once more the days and the months rolled by, the people wearied of mockery and abuses. There is a limit to tolerance! The struggle began against this man who was disregarding the law, who had usurped power by the use of violence against the will of the people, who was guilty of aggression against the established order, and who tortured, murdered, imprisoned and prosecuted those who had taken up the fight to defend the law and to restore liberty to the people.

Honorable Magistrates, I am that humble citizen who one day came in vain to punish the power hungry men who had violated the law and had torn our institutions to shreds. Now that it is I who am accused, for attempting to overthrow this *illegal* regime and *to restore the legitimate constitution*, I am held for 76 days and am denied the right to speak to anyone, even to my son: guarded by two heavy machine guns, I am led through the city. I am transferred to this hospital to be tried secretly with the greatest severity; and the prosecutor with the Code in his hand, solemnly demands that I be sentenced to 26 years in prison.

You will answer that on the former occasion the courts failed to act because force prevented them from doing so. Well then—confess: this time force will oblige you to condemn me. The first time you were able to punish the guilty: now you will be compelled to punish the innocent. The maiden of justice twice raped by force!

### XXXVIII

And such garrulity to justify the unjustifiable, to explain the inexplicable and to reconcile the irreconcilable!

The regime has reached the point of asserting that might-makes-right is the supreme law of the land. In other words that using tanks and soldiers to take over the Presidential palace, the national treasury, and the other government buildings and aiming guns at the heart of the people entitles them to govern the people! The same argument the Nazis were able to use when they occupied the nations of Europe and installed puppet governments in them.

I heartily agree that *revolution* can be the source of legal right: but the nocturnal armed assault of the tenth of March could never be classified as a revolution. In everyday language, as José Ingenieros said, it is common to give the name of revolution to small disorders promoted by a group of dissatisfied persons in order to grab, from those in power, both the political plums and the economic advantages. The usual result is no more than a change of hands in the divvying up of jobs and benefits. This is not the criterion of a philosopher of history, as it cannot be that of a cultured man.

Leaving aside the question of profound changes in the social system, not even on the surface of the public quagmire were we able to discern the slightest motion that could lessen the rampant putrefaction. The previous regime was guilty of petty politics, theft, pillage, and disrespect for human life; but the present regime increased political skullduggery five-fold, pillage ten-fold, and has increased a hundred-fold the lack of respect for human life. It was known that Barriguilla had plundered and murdered, that he was a millionaire, that he owned in Havana a good many apartment houses, countless stocks in foreign companies, fabulous accounts in American banks, that he distributed capital gains to the tune of eighteen million dollars, that he was a frequent guest in the most lavishly expensive hotels for tycoons. No one would ever accept that Barriguilla was a revolutionist. Barriguilla was that sargeant of Weyler who dispatched twelve Cubans in El Guatao. *Batista's* men murdered seventy in Santiago de Cuba. *De te fabula narratur.*

### XXXIX

Four political parties governed the country prior to the tenth of March: the Auténtico, Liberal, Democratic and Republican par-

ties. Two days after the coup the Republican party changed sides. A year had not yet passed by before the Liberal and Democratic parties were again in power: Batista did not restore the Constitution, did not restore civil liberties, did not restore Congress, did not restore universal suffrage, did not restore in the end any of the uprooted democratic institutions. But he *did* restore Verdeja, Guas Inclán, Salvito García Ramos, Anaya Murillo and the top hierarchy of the traditionally government parties, the most corrupt rapacious, reactionary and antediluvian elements of Cuban politics. This was [like] the "revolution" of Barriguilla.

Lacking the most fundamental revolutionary orientation Batista's regime represents in all respects a regression of 20 years for Cuba. Batista's return has exacted a high price from all of us—but primarily from the lower classes which are suffering hunger and misery. Meanwhile the dictatorship has laid waste the nation with agitation, ineptitude and tottering economies and now engages in the most loathsome forms of ruthless politics, concocting formula after formula to perpetuate itself in power even if over a stack of corpses and a sea of blood.

Batista's regime has not set in motion a single nationwide program of betterment for the people. Batista delivered himself into the hands of the [selfish]. Little else could be expected from a man of his mentality—utterly devoid, as he is, both of ideals and of principles and utterly lacking, as he does, the faith, confidence, or backing of the masses. His regime brought merely a switch of hands and a re-distribution of loot among a new collection of friends, relatives, accomplices and parasitical dregs that constitute the political retinue of a Dictator. What great opprobrium the people have been forced to endure so that a small clan of egotists altogether indifferent to the needs of their homeland may find in public life an easy and indulgent *modus vivendi*.

### XXXX

How right Eduardo Chibas was in his last radio speech when he said that Batista was encouraging the return of the colonels of castor oil\* and of the *ley fuga*. Immediately after the tenth of

*Colonels of castor oil.* refers to torture method Batista's first regime introduced into Cuba. Prisoners were given massive doses of castor oil, to subject them to intense intestinal pain and to overwhelming sensations of helplessness, as we. as to filth.

March, Cubans began once more to witness such acts of veritable vandalism as they had considered banished forever from Cuba. There was an unprecedented attack on a cultural institution. The University of the Air was stormed by the thugs of the SIM, together with the young hoodlums of PAU.\* There was also the case of Mario Kuchilan, dragged away from his home in the middle of the night and bestially tortured till he was nearly unconscious and the murder of student Rubén Batista\* and the criminal volleys fired at a peaceful student demonstration next to the same wall where the Spanish volunteers executed the students of 1871. And, many many cases such as that of Dr. García Bárcenas, when right in the courtrooms men have coughed up blood because of the barbaric tortures visited upon them by the repressive security forces. I will not enumerate the hundreds of cases where groups of citizens have been brutally clubbed —men, women, children and the aged.

All of this was being done even before the 26th of July. Since then, as everybody knows, Cardinal Arteaga\* himself was not spared such treatment. According to the official story, he was the victim of a "band of thieves". For once the regime told the truth. What else are they?

#### XXXXI

Cuba has just witnessed with horror the case of the journalist who was kidnapped and subjected to torture by fire for twenty days. Each case brought forth evidence of unheard of effrontery, of immense hypocrisy: the cowardice of shirking responsibility and invariably blaming the enemies of the regime. Governmental tactics fit to be envied by the worst gangster mobs. Even the Nazi criminals were never so cowardly. Hitler assumed responsibility for the massacres of June 30th\* 1934, stating that for 24 hours he had been the German Supreme Court: the henchmen of *this* dictatorship, which defies all comparison with others, due to its baseness, maliciousness and cowardice: kidnap, torture and murder and then loathsomely put the blame on the adversaries of the regime. The typical tactics of Sgt. Barriguilla!

PAU. Partido Acción Unitaria. Political party of Batista.  
Cardinal Arteaga. Manuel Cardinal Arteaga, prince of the Catholic church.  
June 30, 1934. Date of Hitler's first political purge after assuming the Chancellorship wherein Roehm and other dissidents were assassinated  
Rubén Batista. first student martyr of the revolution.

Not once in all the cases I have mentioned, Honorable Magistrates have the agents accountable for them been brought forth to be tried by courts. How is this? Is this not the regime of public order peace and respect for human life?

#### XXXXII

I have recited all this in order now to ask you: Did Batista's present regime — his "revolution" of last year — ever have any of the rightful attributes of a real revolution? Is it or is it not constitutional to struggle against his regime? And must there not be a high degree of corruption in the courts of law when these courts imprison the citizens who try to rid their country of so much infamy?

Cuba is suffering a cruel and base despotism. You are well aware that resistance to despots is legitimate. This is a universally recognized principle and our Constitution of 1940\* expressly makes it a sacred right, in the second paragraph of Article 40: "It is legitimate to use adequate resistance to protect previously granted individual rights."

And even if this prerogative had not been provided by the Supreme Law of the Land, it is a consideration without which one cannot conceive the existence of democratic societies. Professor Infiesta,\* in his book on Constitutional Law, differentiates between the political and the judicial constitutions, and states: "Sometimes the Judicial Constitution includes constitutional principles which, even without being so classified, would be equally binding just on the basis of the people's consent, for example, the principle of majority rule in our democracies. The right of insurrection in the face of tyranny is one of such principles, and, whether or not it be included in the Judicial Constitution, it is always binding within a democratic society. The presentation of such a case to a high court is one of the most interesting problems of Civil law.

Duguitt\* has said in his Treaty on Constitutional Law: "If an insurrection fails, no court will dare to rule that this unsuccessful insurrection was technically *no* conspiracy or transgression against the security of the state inasmuch as, the government being tyrannical, the intention to overthrow it was legitimate."

Constitution of 1940. Famous document drafted by the *Asamblea Constituyente*, famous for its advanced social legislation.

Professor Ram Infiesta. professor of constitutional law at the University of Havana.

Duguitt. French Jurist.

But please take note. Duguiit does not state, "the court ought not to rule". He says, "no court will dare to rule". More explicitly he means that no court will *dare*, that no court will have enough courage to do so, under a tyranny. The issue admits no alternatives. If the court is courageous and does its duty, *yes*, it *will* dare.

### XXXXIII

Recently there has been a violent controversy concerning the validity of the Constitution of 1940. The Court of Social and Constitutional Rights ruled against it in favor of the laws [that were unconstitutional under that constitution.] Nevertheless, Honorable Magistrates, I maintain that the 1940 constitution is still in power.

My statement may seem absurd and extemporaneous to you. But do not be surprised. It is I who am astonished that a court of law should have attempted to deal a vile death blow to the legitimate Constitution of the Republic. As I have done all along — strictly adhere to the facts, to truth, and to reason — I will prove what I have just affirmed.

The Court for Social and Constitutional Rights was instituted according to Article 172 of the 1940 Constitution, complemented by Organic Law Number 7 enacted on May 31, 1949. These laws, in virtue of which the Court was created, granted it, in questions of unconstitutionality, a specific and clearly defined area of legal competence: to rule in all matters of appeals claiming the unconstitutionality of all laws, legal decrees, revolutions or acts that negate, diminish, restrain or adulterate the constitutional rights and privileges or that jeopardize the operations of state agencies.

Article 194 established the following very clearly: "All judges and courts are under obligation to find solution to conflicts between the Constitution and the existing laws in accordance with the principle that the former shall always prevail above the latter."

According, therefore, to the laws that created it, the Court of Social and Constitutional Rights should always rule in favor of the Constitution. When this Court caused the statutes to prevail above the Constitution of the Republic, it completely overstepped its boundaries and its established field of competence, thereby rendering a decision which is legally null and void.

Furthermore, the decision in itself is absurd, and absurdities have no validity, neither by right nor by might — nor even from a meta-

physical viewpoint. No matter how venerable a court may be, it cannot assert that circles are square, — or what amounts to the same thing, — affirm that the grotesque offspring of Batista's, the April 4th statutes, should be considered the official Constitution.

The Constitution is understood to be the basic and supreme law of the land — to define the country's political structure, regulate the functioning of government agencies and determine the boundaries of their activities. It must be *sui generis*, stable, enduring — and to a certain extent inflexible. The statutes [of April 4th] fulfill none of these qualifications. To begin with, they harbor a monstrous, shameless and brazen contradiction in regard to the most vital subject — the integration relation of the Republican structure and the principle of national sovereignty.

Article I says: "Cuba is a sovereign and independent state constituted as a democratic Republic . . . Article II says: "Sovereignty resides in the will of the people, and all powers derive from this source."

But then comes Batista's Article 118 which says: "The President will be nominated by the Cabinet." So it is *not* the people who choose the president, but rather the Cabinet chooses him. And who chooses the Cabinet?

Batista's Article 120, section 13: "The President will be authorized to nominate and reappoint the members of the Cabinet and to replace them when the occasion arises." So, after all, who nominates whom? Is this not the old classic of the chicken and the egg that no one has ever been able to solve?

### XXXXIV

One day eighteen rogues got together. Their plan was to assault the Republic and loot its 350 million dollar annual budget. Treacherously and surreptitiously they succeeded in their purpose. "And what do we do next?" they wondered.

One of them said to the rest: "You name me Prime Minister and I will make you generals." As soon as this was done, he rounded up a clique of twenty men and told them: "I will make you my Cabinet and you will make me President."

In this fashion they nominated each other generals, ministers and president and then took over the treasury and government, lock, stock, and barrel.

Further, it was not simply a matter of the usurpation of sovereignty for one single time in order to name a Cabinet, a staff and a President. This man ascribed to himself, through these statutes, not only absolute control of the nation but also the power of life and death over every citizen and control over the very existence of the nation. Because of this, I maintain that the position of the Court of Social and Constitutional Rights is not only treacherous, vile, cowardly and repugnant, but also absurd.

Batista's statutes contain an article that has not received much attention but which furnishes the key to this situation and is the one from which we shall derive decisive conclusions. I refer specifically to the modifying clause included in Article 257, which reads: "This constitutional law is open to reform by the Cabinet by a two-thirds quorum vote." Here mockery reached its maximum.

Not only did they exercise sovereignty in order to impose upon the people a Constitution without the people's consent and to install a regime which concentrates all power in its own hands; but also, through Article 257, they assume the most essential attribute of sovereignty — the power to change the basic and supreme Law of the Land. And they have already changed it several times since the 10th of March. Yet, with the greatest gall, they assert in Article II that sovereignty resides in the will of the people and that the people are the source of all power.

Since these changes can be brought about by a vote of two-thirds of the Cabinet and the Cabinet is named by the president, then the right to make and break Cuba is in the hands of one man, a man who is, furthermore, the most unworthy of all the creatures ever born in this land.

Was this then accepted by the Court of Constitutional Rights? And is all that derives from it valid and legal? Very well, you shall see what was accepted:

"This constitutional law will be liable to change by a two-thirds quorum vote of the Cabinet." Such a power recognizes no limits. Under its aegis, any article, any chapter, any clause — even the whole law — can be modified. For example, Article I which I have just mentioned says that Cuba is a sovereign and independent state constituted as a democratic Republic, although today it is in fact a bloody satrapy. Article III reads: "The national boundaries include

the island of Cuba, the Isle of Pines, and the neighboring islets and keys . . ." and so on.

Batista and his cabinet under the provisions of Article 257 can modify all these other articles. They can say that Cuba is no longer to be a Republic but a hereditary monarchy and he, Batista, can anoint himself king. He can dismember the national territory and sell a province to a foreign country, as Napoleon did with Louisiana. He can suspend the right to life itself, and, like Herod, order the decapitation of newborn children. All of these measures would be legal and you, my friends, would have to incarcerate all those who opposed them, just as you now intend to do with me.

#### XXXXV

I have put forth extreme examples to show how sad and how humiliating is our present situation. To think that all those absolute powers are in the hands of men truly capable of selling our country with all its citizens! Since the Court of Constitutional Rights has accepted Batista's unconstitutional statutes, what more are they waiting for? They may as well hang up their judicial robes.

It is a fundamental principle of Civil Law that there can be no unconstitutionality where the Executive and the Legislative powers reside in the same body. When the Cabinet makes the laws, the decrees and the rules — and at the same time has the power to change the Constitution in ten minutes' time — then why the devil do we need a Court of Constitutional Rights?

The ruling in favor of Batista's statutes is irrational, inconceivable, illogical and contrary to the republican laws that you, Honorable Magistrates, swore to uphold. When the Court of Constitutional Rights supported Batista's statutes against the Constitution, the Supreme Law of the Land was not abolished [as it seemed to be] but rather, the Court of Constitutional Rights renounced its autonomy and committed legal suicide. May it rest in peace.

#### XXXXVI

The right to revolt, established in Article 40 of the Constitution, is still valid. Was it established to function while the Republic was enjoying normal conditions? No. This provision is, in relation to

the Constitution, what a lifeboat is to a ship on high sea. The lifeboat is lowered only when, for example, the boat is torpedoed by enemies in ambush along its course. With our Constitution betrayed and the people deprived of all their prerogatives there was only one right left, one right which no power may abolish — the right to resist oppression and injustice.

If any doubt remains, there is an article of the Social Defense Code which the Honorable Prosecutor would have done well not to forget. It reads, I quote: "The appointed or elected government authorities that fail to resist sedition with all the available means will be liable to a sentence of from six to eight years."

The Judges of our nation were under obligation to resist Batista's treacherous military coup of the 10th of March. It is obvious that when no one else has observed the law and when nobody else has done his duty, then now, those who have observed the law and have done their duty should be sent to jail. [Sic!]

You will not be able to deny that the regime forced upon the nation is unworthy of Cuban tradition, unworthy of Cuba's history.

In his book, *The Spirit of Laws* which is the foundation of the modern division of governmental power, Montesquieu\* makes a distinction between three types of government according to their basic natures: "The Republican form wherein the whole people or a portion thereof has sovereign power: the Monarchical form where only one man governs, but in accordance to fixed and well defined laws: and the despotic form where one man without regard for laws and rules acts as he pleases, regarding only his own will or whim."

Afterwards he adds: "A man whose five senses constantly tell him that he is everything and that the rest of humanity is nothing is bound to be lazy, ignorant and sensuous." As virtue is necessary to a democracy, and honor to a monarchy—fear is of the essence to a despotic regime, where virtue is not needed and honor would be dangerous."

#### XXXXVII

The right of rebellion against tyranny, Honorable Magistrates, has been recognized from the most ancient times to the present day by men of all creeds, ideas, and doctrines.

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Montesquieu. Charles de Secondat 1689-1755. French lawyer and political philosopher.

In the theocratic monarchies of remote antiquity, in China, it was in effect a constitutional principle that when a King governed rudely and despotically he should be deposed and replaced by a virtuous prince.

The philosophers of ancient India upheld the principle of active resistance to arbitrary authority. They justified revolution and very often put their theories into practice. One of their spiritual leaders used to say that—"An opinion held by the majority is stronger than the king himself. A rope weaved of many strands is strong enough to drag a lion."

The city states of Greece and republican Rome not only admitted but defended the meting-out of violent death to tyrants.

In the Middle Ages, John of Salisbury\* in his *Book of the Statesman* says that when a prince does not govern according to law and degenerates into a tyrant, violent overthrow is legitimate and justifiable. He recommends for tyrants the dagger rather than poison.

Saint Thomas Aquinas, in the *Summa Theologica*, rejects the doctrine of tyrannicide, and yet upholds the thesis that tyrants should be overthrown by the people.

Martin Luther proclaimed that when a government degenerates into a tyranny violating the laws, the subjects are released from their obligation to obey. His disciple, Philippe Melancthon, upholds the right of resistance when governments become despotic. Calvin, the most outstanding thinker of the Reformation, with regard to political ideas, postulates that people are entitled to take up arms to oppose any usurpation.

No less a man than Juan Mariana, a Spanish Jesuit during the reign of Philip II, asserts in his book, *De Rege et Regis Institutione*, that when a governor usurps power, or even if he were elected, when he governs in a tyrannical manner, it is licit for a private citizen to exercise tyrannicide, either directly or through subterfuge, with the least possible disturbance.

The French writer, Francois Hotman,\* maintained that between the government and its subjects there is a bond or contract, and that the people may rise in rebellion against the tyranny of governments when the latter violate said agreement.

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John of Salisbury. English ecclesiastic. d. 1180.  
Francois Hotman. 1524-1590. Many of his writings brought changes in the study and teaching of law.



During that same historical era, a widely read booklet appeared under the title *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* and over the pseudonym, Stephanus Junius Brutus. It openly proclaimed that resistance to governments is legitimate when rulers oppress the people and that it is the duty of honorable judges to lead the struggle.

The Scottish reformers, John Knox\* and John Poyntet, upheld the same point of view. And, in the most important book of that movement, George Buchanan stated that if a government achieves power without taking into account the consent of the people, or if a government rules their destiny in an unjust and arbitrary fashion, then that government becomes a tyranny and can be divested of power or in a final recourse, can have its leaders executed.

John Althus, a German jurist of the early Seventeenth Century states, in his *Treatise on Politics*, that sovereignty, as the supreme authority of the State, is born from the voluntary concourse of all its members; that governmental authority stems from the people and that its unjust, illegal or tyrannical function exempts them from the duty of obedience and justifies their resistance or rebellion.

Thus far, Honorable Magistrates, I have mentioned examples from antiquity, from the Middle Ages and from the beginnings of the modern age. I selected these examples from writers of all creeds.

Moreover, as you can see, the right to rebellion is at the very roots of Cuba's existence as a nation. By virtue of [a rebellion fifty years ago] you are today able to appear in the robes of Cuban magistrates. Would that those garments served the cause of justice!

#### XXXXVIII

It is well known that in England during the Eighteenth Century two kings, Charles I and James II, were dethroned for despotism. These acts coincided with the birth of liberal political philosophy and provided the ideological foundation for a new social class, which was then struggling to break the bonds of feudalism.

Against divine right autocracies this new philosophy upheld the principle of the social contract and of the consent of the governed, and constituted the foundation of the American Revolution of 1775 and of the French Revolution of 1789. These great events ushered in the liberation of the Spanish colonies in the New World—the final link in that chain being broken by Cuba.

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*John Knox.* 1505-1572. Outstanding Scottish Protestant reformer.

The new philosophy nurtured our own political ideas and helped us evolve our Constitution from the Constitution of Guáimaro up to the Constitution of 1940. The latter was influenced by the socialist currents of our time; into it were built the principle of the social function of property and of man's inalienable right to that decorous living which large vested interests have [often] prevented him from realizing fully.

The right of insurrection against tyranny then underwent its final consecration and became a fundamental tenet of political liberty.

As far back as 1649 John Milton\* wrote that political power lies in the people, who can enthrone and dethrone kings and who have the duty of overthrowing tyrants.

John Locke,\* in his essay on government sustains that when the natural rights of man are violated, the people have the right and the duty of suppressing or changing the government. "The last recourse against wrongful and unauthorized force is opposition to it."

Jean Jacques Rousseau says with great eloquence in his *Social Contract*: "While a people sees itself forced to obey and obeys, it does well; as soon as it can shake off the yoke and shakes it off, it does better, recovering its liberty through use of the very right that had been taken away from it.

"The strongest man is never sufficiently strong to be always the master, but rather tries to convert force into right and tries to convert obedience into duty. Force is a physical power. I do not see what morality can be derived from its use. To cede to force is an act of necessity, not of will. All else is an act of prudence. In what sense can this be a duty?

"To renounce freedom is to renounce one's status as a man, to renounce one's human rights, including one's duties. There is no possible compensation for renouncing *everything*. Total renunciation is incompatible with the nature of man and to take away all free will is to take away all moral conduct. In short, it is vain and contradictory to stipulate on one hand an absolute authority and on the other hand an unlimited obedience.

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*John Milton.* (1608-1674) English poet and man of letters, author of "Paradise Lost" who supported Oliver Cromwell in the struggle against the anti-democratic court of Charles I.

*John Locke.* English philosopher, born 1632. His writings on the rights of individuals to life, liberty and property left their imprint on the United States Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Thomas Paine said that a just man deserves more respect than a crowned rogue. The people's right to rebel has been opposed only by reactionaries like that clergyman of Virginia, Jonathan Boucher,\* who said that "The right to rebel is a censurable doctrine derived from Lucifer, the father of rebellions."

## XLIX

The Declaration of Independence of the Congress of Philadelphia, on the 4th of July, 1776, consecrated this right in a beautiful paragraph which reads:

"... We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness,—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

The famous French Declaration of the Rights of Man willed this principle to the coming generations:

"When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for them the most sacred of rights and the most imperative of duties." "When a person seizes sovereignty, he should be condemned to death by free men."

I believe I have sufficiently justified my point of view. I have called forth more reasons than the Honorable Prosecutor called forth to ask that I be condemned to 26 years in prison. All support men who struggle for freedom and happiness of the people. None support those who oppress the people, revile them and loot them heartlessly. Therefore, I have had to call forth many reasons and he could not adduce a single one.

How can you justify the presence of Batista in power, since he gained power against the will of the people and by violating the laws of the Republic through the use of treachery and force?

*Jonathan Boucher.* 1738-1804. English clergyman in the American colonies, who so opposed the American Revolutionary movement from his pulpit that he was forced to resign his parish and return to England.

How can you qualify as legitimate a regime of blood, oppression, and ignominy? How can you call a regime revolutionary when it has combined the most backward men, the most backward ideas and the most backward bureaucracy? How can you consider legally valid the high treason of a court whose mission was to defend our constitution?

With what right do the courts send to prison citizens who tried to redeem their country by giving their own blood—their own lives?

All this is monstrous in the eyes of the nation and is monstrous according to the principles of true justice.

## L

But there is one argument that aids us more than all the others. We are Cubans and to be Cuban implies a duty. Not to fulfill that duty is a crime, is treason.

We are proud of the history of our country. We learned history in school and we have grown up hearing of liberty, justice and human rights.

We were taught to venerate the glorious example of our heroes and our martyrs. Cespedes, Agramonte, Maceo, Gomez y Marti were the first names engraved in our minds. We were taught that the titan Maceo had said that liberty is not begged but is won with the blade of a machete.

We were taught that for the guidance of Cuba's free citizens the *Apóstol* wrote in his *Book of Gold*:\* "The man who conforms by obeying unjust laws and permits anybody to trample the country in which he was born, the man who so mistreats his country, is not an honorable man."

"In the world there must be a certain degree of decorum just as there must be a certain amount of light. When there are many men without decorum, there are always others who bear in themselves the dignity of many men. These are the men who rebel with great force against those who steal the people's freedom—that is to say, against those who steal human dignity itself."

*El libro de oro.* The Golden Book. A collection of stories in magazine form that Jose Marti prepared for children.



We were taught that the 10th of October\* and the 24th of February\* are glorious anniversaries of national rejoicing because they mark days in which Cubans rebelled against the yoke of infamous tyrannies.

We were taught to cherish and defend the beloved flag of the single star. We sang every afternoon a hymn whose verses say that to live in chains is to live in opprobrium . . . that to die for the country is to live.

All this we learned and will never forget, even though today in our land there is murder and prison for the men who practice the ideas taught to them since the cradle. We were born in a free country which was our heritage from our forefathers. The island would sink into the sea before we would consent to be slaves of *anybody*.

## LI

It seemed that the veneration for the Apóstol was going to die in his Centenary. It seemed that his memory would be extinguished forever. So great was the affront! But his dream lives. It has not died. His people are rebellious. His people are worthy. His people are faithful to his memory. There are Cubans who have fallen defending his doctrines. There are boys who in magnificent selflessness came to die beside his tomb, giving their blood and their lives so that [the dream of Martí] could continue to live in the heart of his country. Cuba, what would have become of you if you had forsaken your Apóstol?

I come to the close of my defense plea but I will not end it as lawyers usually do—asking that the accused be freed. I cannot ask freedom for myself while my comrades are suffering in the ignominious prison of *Isla de Pinos*. Send me there to join them and to share their fate. It is understandable that honest men should be dead or in prison in [this] Republic where the president is a criminal and a thief.

To the Honorable Magistrates, my sincere gratitude for having allowed me to express myself freely without petty interruptions, I hold no bitterness toward you. I recognize that in certain aspects you have been humane and I know that the Presiding Officer of

*10th of October.* October 10, 1868, when cry of "Yara" began struggle for freedom from Spain.

*24th February.* Feb. 24, 1895 was the date that opened Cuba's final struggle for Independence from Spain.

this court, a man of unimpeachable private life, cannot disguise his repugnance at the current state of affairs that oblige him to dictate unjust decisions.

Still, there remains for this hearing a more serious problem, the issues arising from the murder of seventy men—that is to say, the greatest massacre we have ever known. The guilty continue at liberty with a weapon in hand—a weapon which continually threatens the citizens. If all the weight of the law does not fall upon [the guilty] because of cowardice, or because of domination of the courts—and if then, all the magistrates and judges do not resign, I pity you. And I regret the unprecedented shame that will fall over the judicial system.

I know that imprisonment will be as hard for me as it has ever been for anyone—filled with cowardly threats and wicked torture. But I do not fear prison, just as I do not fear the fury of the miserable tyrant who snuffed life out of 70 brothers of mine.

Sentence me. I don't mind. *History will absolve me.*



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History will absolve me!

*History Will Absolve Me*

Translation from the Spanish of  
a defense plea by Fidel Castro.

*In memory of the seventy young men who  
became martyrs of Moncada on July 26,  
1953.*

\* \* \*

*Dedicated to Haydée Santamaria and Mel-  
ba Hernández, two young women who  
gave an unforgettable example to all  
women.*

\* \* \*

*Presented with a prayer for peace in all  
the world and with hope that some day  
soon no one will need to die in order that  
his people may be free.*

*Printed in U.S.A.*  
LIBERAL PRESS, INC.

*Translation of the foreword that appeared in the first edition of "La Historia Me Absolvera," which was clandestinely printed and circulated in June, 1954.*



We are now approaching the first anniversary of that heroic effort made [July 26, 1953] when a handful of young men armed with little more than their ideals and their self-respect engaged the forces of tyranny in mortal combat. A group of Cuban intellectuals, united in a common cause and inspired by admiration for the 26th of July Movement have decided to publish the complete text of Dr. Fidel Castro's defense plea delivered on October 16th, 1953, before the Emergency Tribunal of Santiago de Cuba.

This publication was made possible through the help of two reporters who attended that memorable session and made available to us the shorthand notes they took there.

Dr. Castro was not tried along with the other accused. The trial in which he undertook his own defense had hardly begun when he was illegally removed from the trial proceedings and prevented from appearing until after the sessions had ended. He was later tried in a room of the City Hospital. With the exception of a few newspapermen, whose reports were completely forbidden by the censorship enforced by National Law, the public was barred from the trial. It was clear that the regime was extraordinarily interested in muffling Dr. Castro's pronouncements. But, despite these circumstances, the speech delivered by Fidel Castro in his own defense is considered the most formidable and courageous indictment yet delivered before a Cuban court of law. It is the most devastating judgment anyone has ever levelled at the present regime of force. The way in which the 26th of July attack was carried out; the revolutionary movement's program; the repulsive crimes perpetrated [by the regime] on the prisoners after

the uprising; the shameful and immoral liaison of the Judiciary Department with the Dictatorship; and the principles of law and justice which supported the revolutionaries in their struggle—all this is set forth in a clear and eloquent language which makes no concessions to babbity or hypocrisies of the present era. The speech offers the incomparable spectacle of a solitary figure consecrated in body and soul, to defend the truth. From the very first paragraph the reader is held entranced and [will not want] to put it down before reading the last paragraph. The reader receives the profound impression that our national problems have been judged in new terms—terms of implacable logic and acuteness which prove his assertions with irrefutable arguments and data from beginning to end. We believe that the publication of this document is the most formidable reply that can be made to the mediocre and servile American writer who was paid from the public coffers and was provided with an abundance of falsehoods to write the recent biography in praise of Batista—the multi-millionaire with a suite at the Waldorf Astoria. That writer, a traitor to the land of Lincoln, glorifies the cruel dictator from the land of Martí. But Batista's true biography and his black role in Cuba's destiny is recorded for posterity in this speech made by Fidel Castro, less to a weak and subservient court than to the tribunal of history.

This twenty-seven year old Cuban is today virtually buried alive in a wretched cell on the Isle of Pines, forbidden to speak to another human being, shut off from his country and his family . . . and simply because the regime fears the truth he has written with his sacrifice and martyrdom.

This speech of high moral and idealistic value will also be published abroad, where better printing facilities exist, and it will be distributed throughout the democracies of Latin America as an example of the courage and idealism of Cuban youth—youth who yearned to make their country worthy of the respect and affection with which all Latin America remembered the *Apóstol* during his centenary. Such was their vision that, in their oppressed homeland, they did not hesitate to present him the homage of their own lives.

The Dictator [Batista] denies Cubans their dignity as men. Thus, his hatred and anger for those valiant men who openly defy his power. Seventy young Cubans, cruelly assassinated after the fight, raise their arms from their graves to accuse him, and the voices of twenty-nine living martyrs buried in the somber sheds of the Isle of Pines, are beginning to resound to the heavens demanding punishment of the assassins.

This voice of hope for our country in the midst of today's atmosphere of cowardice and corruption, will grow stronger and louder, no matter how few may speak out for truth in this age of shame. So many of us remain silent, filled with fear and disloyalty to the nation, that we believe a great service will be rendered to the country by publishing the unforgettable words of a Cuban worthy of the name.

To those who, in sinister prisons, are paying so dearly for their devotion to Cuba, we send out the love and hope of their people.

1954, La Habana, Cuba

## Foreword

Six weeks ago, in a linen-and-jewelry shop on the Prado in Havana, a young tourist guide and a young salesgirl, with positive exuberance, expressed to an American woman their lack of impatience about the momentary scarcity of tourists in their city. They were confident that the American tourists would soon again crowd their shops and with satisfaction they contemplated that their rapidly-reforming country might now be visited by *some* Americans who had always before avoided visiting Cuba.

Meantime, while the Americans would learn that Cuba was becoming more wholesome—as well as much happier—these two young people were prepared to wait in patience. Simply enough, they considered their personal profits from the tourist business an insignificant matter compared to the relief, joy and pride that they experienced every time they remembered that they had been blessed with a real miracle: Fidel Castro and the other rebels who had been persecuted so mercilessly for so long, were now the *leaders—not the rulers*—of the Cuban people.

Because the American woman seemed to be listening with sympathy and with a certain amount of understanding, the tourist guide and the salesgirl invited her to lunch in one of Havana's immaculate U.S.-style coffee shops and bought for her, on San Rafael Street, a twenty-five cent copy of *La Historia Me Absolverá*.

That copy of *La Historia Me Absolverá* now has pages worn through from many many readings by dozens of the American woman's friends.

The same question haunted each of them as they discovered "*La Historia Me Absolverá*: "Where was I while all this was taking place?"

To make *History Will Absolve Me* available to those Americans who are denied the privilege of reading the original, these friends have translated it into English prose which they hope will give some idea of the drama found in Fidel Castro's words in Spanish.

These New Yorkers—a theatrical director, an assistant to the art editor of a medical magazine, a medical student, a song writer, a chemist, a journalist on a Spanish language newspaper, a singer, a writer for a medical magazine, an engineer, a radio script writer, a photographer, a secretary to the editor of an international magazine, a publicity representative for a publishing house, a ballet dancer, a professor of literature, a poet's wife, a secretary for an insurance company, an actor—have worked together, burning midnight oil for three weeks in order to complete this translation while Fidel Castro is still in New York on his first visit here since the January victory of the 26th of July movement.

Together they want to thank Ambassador Carlos Lechuga, Cuba's Alternate Delegate to the United Nations; Luis Baralt, Cuban Consul General in New York, and Armando Abascal, head of the Cuban Tourist Commission in New York City, for encouragement in this very pleasant labor.

New York City, April 23, 1959

*To I.S. heartfelt thanks for excusing the delay caused to his important work in order that this publication might go to press on time.*

*To L.C., P.C., G.C. and A.T., gratitude for all their help.*

## Prologue

Whoever says Fidel Castro is just a guerilla leader does not know Fidel Castro.

Whoever says the 26th of July Movement is Communist does not understand the 26th of July Movement.

Whoever calls our revolutionary justice cruel is not acquainted with revolutionary justice.

Whoever says the new government of Cuba is navigating without rudder, is misinformed about Cuba.

Let us end all the fallacy and ignorance concerning what has happened in my country! Only through study and open-mindedness can fair judgment be given.

Whoever hastily judges Cuba may not be a criminal, but he is committing a crime; he is, in fact, *plotting* against a people who, first having freed themselves from tyranny, are struggling now to liberate themselves from their sins and suffering.

The document presented here was delivered as a plea of defense before the Emergency Session of the Court of Santiago de Cuba after the heroic attack Dr. Fidel Castro led against *Cuartel Moncada*, the second largest military fortress of the country.

This speech reveals the extraordinary fortitude of this superior and unique man—immortal voice in the history of freedom.

Since "The Political Imprisonment" by Jose Martí we Cubans have known nothing to equal *La Historia Me Absolverá*.

There, facing the judges and clad in the robe of a lawyer—which on him became the virile *toga* of which the Romans spoke—this young man 26 years old used words of condemnation to denounce the despot and his despotism and to lash out against barbarity and perversion. With words of faith and enlightenment he showed the way to the future.

Delve into world history and you will see how difficult it is to find another document that so merges the exceptional historical circumstances, the personal merits of the author, the fundamental morality of a cause and the literary eloquence [that distinguish "*La Historia Me Absolverá*"]. The accused rises to towering stature and takes the role of accuser in this self defense, as brave as it is brilliant.

These pages pulsate with the essence of the revolutionary leader's thinking. They proclaim all the reform programs that he was to put into effect later, when he accepted office: agrarian reform, 50% reduction of all rents, industrial development, elimination of unemployment, modernization of the educational system, conversion of the military headquarters, Camp Columbia, into a scholastic institution.

Nobody should be surprised by what he is doing. He is doing what

he said that he would do. There is neither demagoguery nor improvisation [in his decision]. The Prime Minister is keeping the promises that the rebel made. He does not break his pledges. His acts are true to his words.

Whoever classes him as a Communist should note those whom he quotes in this speech: John of Salisbury, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, Juan Mariana, Francois Hotman, John Althus, John Milton, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Paine, Jose Marti and Eduardo Chibas. No Communists are represented in his quotations nor in the overall philosophy of the extensive defense, which served as a clarion call to his people.

Would a Communist parcel out land among the peasant farmers in order to promote private ownership of property? Would a Communist champion freedom of the press? Would a Communist consider sacred the private citizen's individual rights and civil liberties?

Much has been said about the "cruelty" of revolutionary justice. It *was* indeed cruel—unspeakably cruel—for Batista's regime to assassinate and torture thousands and thousands of men, women and children—even gloating over the reign of terror. It is NOT cruel to give legal trial to such sadistic war criminals, to allow them due defense, and to determine the extent of their guilt before sentencing them in accordance with the law. The People of Cuba insist that justice be done, so that they may be spared having to do it with their own hands, so that they may avoid plunging the nation into anarchy. If legal executions had not occurred without delay, the masses would be in the streets punishing these terrorists for the seven years of death and destruction that they wrought in Cuba.

It is better to have stern justice of the courts rather than to have arbitrary vengeance of the outraged masses. Fidel Castro's generosity is made abundantly clear in the report about captured enemy soldiers who received neither a scratch nor an unkind word while in the custody of the rebels. This is the same humane treatment that was repeated in the *Sierra Maestra* where the rebels released their prisoners and delivered the wounded into the care of the International Red Cross.

The text of this speech reveals the military strategist who later proved himself a weapons-wizard capable of overcoming the enemy despite unfavorable odds of 20-to-1 in manpower and 100-to-1 in firepower. Nevertheless, he is a man of letters—Doctor in Civil Law, Doctor in the Social Sciences and Litentiate in Diplomatic Law. He is not a vain little self-styled general of the Caribbean. He is a statesman with keen perception and profound preparation in political philosophy. He is an admirer of Abraham Lincoln and of all men great of spirit.

He is neither Communist, nor cruel, nor misguided. He is democratic, humanist and humanitarian—a leader who steers the Cuban ship of state on a course that can bear Cuba toward a tomorrow when all peoples, like brothers, may share bread and liberty.

The emotions stirred by this dramatic legal document can stimulate in the reader the will to join in mankind's struggle against evil.

Luis Conte Agüero

New York City, April 13, 1959

Dr. Fidel Castro  
appearing before the Emergency Session  
of the Court of Santiago de Cuba, Oct. 16, 1953

#### Honorable Magistrates:

Never has a lawyer had to practice his profession under more difficult conditions; never against an accused have more overwhelming irregularities been committed. Here, counsel and accused are one and the same. As attorney for the defense I have been denied even a look at the indictment. As the accused, I have been, for the past seventy-six days, shut away, in solitary confinement—held incommunicado in violation of every legal and human consideration.

He who is speaking abhors—with all his being—anything that might be vain or childish. Neither by his temperament nor by his present frame of mind is he inclined towards oratorical poses—or towards any kind of sensationalism. I am compelled to plead my own defense before this court. There are two reasons: first, because I have been deprived almost entirely of legal aid; second, because only he who has been outraged as deeply as I, and who has seen his country so forsaken, its justice so reviled, can speak on an occasion like this with words that are made of the blood of his own heart and the very marrow of truth.

There was no lack of generous colleagues who would have defended me and the Bar Association of Havana appointed a courageous and competent jurist, Dr. Jorge Pagliery, Dean of the Bar of



this city, to represent me in this case. But he was not permitted to *perform* his undertaking. The prison gates were closed to him as often as he tried to see me. Only after a month and a half, and through the intervention of the Court, was he [finally] granted a ten-minute interview with me in the presence of a sergeant of the Military Intelligence Service. [SIM].\*

It is taken for granted that a lawyer should converse privately with his client. This right is respected all over the world—except here, where a Cuban prisoner of war is in the hands of an implacable tyranny that abides by no code, legal or humane. Neither Dr. Pagliery nor I were willing to tolerate such spying upon our strategy of defense for the oral trial. Did they, perhaps, want to know in advance how we would reduce to dust the elaborate falsehoods they had woven around the events of *Cuartel Moncada*\* and how we were going to expose the terrible truths they would go to such very great lengths to conceal? It was then that I decided to make use of my professional status as lawyer. I resolved to assume my own defense.

This decision, first overheard by the sergeant and then reported [to his superiors] provoked among them a singular panic; it seemed as though some mocking little imp were hinting that all their plans might come to naught. You know well enough, Honorable Magistrates, how much pressure has been brought to bear upon me to strip me of the accused man's right to plead his own defense—a right that has been sanctified by long tradition in Cuba. The court could not support the government's machinations, for that would have left the accused man altogether undefended. Said accused, who is now exercising this right to do his own pleading, will under no circumstances mute what he ought to say. I deem it essential to cite, at the outset, what was the reason for the relentless isolation to which I have been subjected; what was the motive for keeping me silent; what prompted the plot to kill me—a plot with which the Court is familiar; what grave facts are being hidden from the people; and what is the secret behind all the strange things that have taken place during this trial. All this I propose to do with the utmost clarity.

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*Sim.* Servicio de Inteligencia Militar. Batista's secret political police.

*Moncada.* Military garrison near Santiago de Cuba, capital of Oriente Province. This garrison was the object of an unsuccessful attack on the 26th of July, 1953, by Fidel Castro and 125 other young men. The date eventually became the official name of a movement which, four years later was able to depose Batista's regime.

## II.

You have publicly called this case the most significant in the history of the Republic. If you sincerely believed so, you should not have allowed the trial to be degraded, time after time, by the flouting of your authority.

The first court session was held on the 21st of September. Scandalously invading the courtroom were a hundred [soldiers armed with] machine guns and bayonets. They surrounded the more than a hundred persons seated in the prisoner's dock. The majority of these accused had in no way been involved in our acts. They had been under preventive arrest for many days, after suffering all kinds of outrage and abuse in the chambers of the repressive organizations. The rest of the gallant and determined accused were eager and proud to confirm the roles that were theirs in the battle for freedom: to offer an example of unusual self-sacrifice, and to deliver from the jaws of jail the ones whom [the regime] with deliberate bad faith, had included in the trial. Men who had fought each other came face to face once more. Once again, with the cause of justice on our side, we would wage the mighty battle of truth against infamy. Surely, the regime was not prepared for the moral catastrophe in store for it.

How could the regime maintain its false accusations? How could it keep secret all that had really transpired, while so many young men were willing to run *any* risk—jail, torture, death, if need be—to denounce [the Army's acts] before the court?

In the first session, I was a witness. For two hours I was questioned by the court's prosecutor as well as by twenty defense attorneys. I was able to prove with exact facts and figures the sums of money that had been invested, the way in which this money was collected, and the arms that we had managed to assemble. I had nothing to hide since all this was achieved by a self-abnegation unsurpassed in the struggles of our Republic. I spoke of the aims which inspired us in our struggle and of the humane and generous treatment that we had at all times accorded to our adversaries. If I accomplished my purpose of demonstrating the non-involvement, direct or indirect, of those men who were falsely implicated in this trial, I owe it to the complete support and backing of my heroic comrades. For, as I said, mere concern over consequences would not make them regret or repent being rebels and patriots. I was never

allowed to talk with them in prison; yet we were in full accord as to how to proceed. When men bear the same ideals in their hearts, nothing can keep them incommunicado: neither walls of prisons nor sod of cemeteries. For a single memory, a single spirit, a single idea, a single conscience, a single dignity, will sustain them all.

From that moment on, the structure of lies the regime had erected around Camp Moncada began to collapse like a house of cards. As a result, the prosecutor understood how absurd it was to keep in prison all those persons named as instigators. Immediately he demanded their provisional release.

At the close of my testimony in that first session, I asked that the court allow me to leave the dock and sit among the counsel for the defense; this permission was, in effect, granted to me. At this point began what I considered my most important mission in this trial: utterly to discredit the cowardly, base and treacherous—shameless!—slanders that the regime had hurled against our fighters; to reveal with irrefutable evidence the frightful, repulsive crimes they had practiced on those of our companions whom they captured; and to bring before the nation and the world the infinite misfortune of Cuba's people, who are now enduring the most cruel—the most inhuman—oppression in all their history.

The second session convened on Tuesday, September the twenty-second. After only ten witnesses had testified, I was able to call attention to the murders in the Manzanillo\* region. I specifically established and placed on record the direct responsibility of the captain commanding that post. There were three hundred more witnesses to testify. What would happen when—with a staggering mass of facts and evidence—I should proceed to cross-examine the very Army men who were directly responsible for those crimes? Could the regime permit me to go ahead—before the large audience in attendance? Before journalists and jurists from all the island? And before the opposition party leaders, whom it had stupidly seated right in the prisoner's dock where they could now hear so distinctly all that might be brought out here? The regime would have dynamited the courthouse—with all its magistrates—rather than allow this!

They devised a plan to eliminate me from the trial and proceeded to do so *manu militari*. Friday night, the 25th of Septem-

*Manzanillo.* Large port town in the south-western sector of Oriente Province where some of the fiercest battles between Castro's men and Batista's soldiers took place.

ber, on the eve of the third session of the trial, two prison doctors visited me in my cell. They were visibly embarrassed. "We have come to examine you," they told me. I asked: "Who is so concerned about my health?" Actually, from the moment I first saw them, I realized what they had in mind. They could not have treated me with greater chivalry, and they explained [their predicament] to me. In the afternoon, Colonel Chaviano\* had appeared at the prison and had told them I "was doing the Government terrible damage at the trial." He had said they must sign a certificate declaring that I was ill—and, was, therefore, unable to come to court. The doctors told me that they—for their part, were prepared to resign from their posts and to risk persecution. They put the matter in my hands, for me to decide. I found it hard to ask those men to destroy themselves without vacillation. But neither could I, under any circumstances, consent that their orders be carried out. To leave the matter to their own consciences, I answered only: "You must know your duty; I surely know mine."

After leaving my cell they signed the certificate. I know they did so, believing in good faith, that this was the only way they could save my life—which they considered to be in the greatest danger. I was not obliged to keep our conversation secret, for I am bound only by truth. Telling the truth in this instance may jeopardize those good physicians in their material interests. But I am removing all doubt about their honor—and that is worth much more. The same night, I wrote the court a letter denouncing the plot; requesting two forensic physicians be sent to certify my excellent state of health, and informing you that if, to save my life, I should need to collaborate in such a deception, I would a thousand times prefer to lose it. To show my resolve to fight alone against all this low conniving, I added to my own words a concept of the *Maestro*\*. A rightful cause, from the depths of a cave, can accomplish more than [any] army."

As the court is aware, Dr. Melba Hernandez\* submitted that letter at the third session of the trial, September twenty-sixth. I managed to get it to her despite the unrelenting watch under

*Chaviano.* Colonel Alberto del Rio Chaviano. Commander of the Army in the Manzanillo sector.

*Maestro.* Refers to Jose Martí (1853-1895) Cuban author and patriot in the War of Independence emancipating Cuba from Spanish rule.

*Dr. Melba Hernandez.* one of the two girls who took part in the 26th of July attack on Cuartel Moncada.

which I was kept. That letter, of course, caused immediate reprisals: Dr. Hernandez was subjected to solitary confinement, and I—since I was already incommunicado—was sent to the most inaccessible part of the prison. From that time on, all the accused were painstakingly searched, head to foot, before they were brought to the courtroom.

Two court physicians [examined me] September twenty-seventh and certified I was, in fact, in perfect health. And yet, in spite of the court's repeated orders, never again was I brought to the trial sessions. Moreover, every day, anonymous persons circulated hundreds of apocryphal pamphlets in which there was [preposterous] talk of my rescue from jail. This stupid alibi was invented to explain—as escape!—the abduction they intended. Since the scheme failed as a result of timely exposure by my alert friends, and after the first medical affidavit was revealed to be false, [the regime] could keep me away from the trial only by open and shameless contempt of court.

An unheard-of situation had arisen, Honorable Magistrates. Here was a regime afraid to bring an accused before the courts; a regime of blood and terror which shrank in fear at the moral conviction of a defenseless man—unarmed, slandered and isolated. Thus, having deprived me of all else, they finally deprived me of the trial in which I was the principal accused.

Bear in mind that this was during a period of suspension of rights of the individual and while there was in full force the Law of Public Order as well as censorship of radio and press. What dreadful crimes this regime must have committed, to so fear the voice of one accused man!

### III.

I must dwell upon the insolence and disrespect which the army leaders have, at all times, shown toward you. As often as this court has outlawed the inhuman isolation in which I was held; as often as it has ordered my most elementary rights to be respected; as often as it has demanded that I be brought before it, this court was never obeyed! One after another, all its orders were disregarded. Worse yet: in the very presence of the court, during the first and second sessions, a praetorian guard was stationed beside me to prevent me

completely from speaking to anyone, even during the brief recesses. In other words, not only in prison, but even in the very courtroom and in your presence, they ignored your decrees. I had intended to mention this matter in the following session, as a question of elementary respect for the court, but . . . I was never brought back. And when, in exchange for so much disrespect, they bring us before you, to be sent to jail in the name of a statute which they—and only they—have been violating since the 10th of March, sad indeed is the role they would force upon you. The Latin maxim, *cedant arma togae*,\* has certainly not been fulfilled on a single occasion during this case. I beg you to keep that circumstance well in mind.

Furthermore, these devices were, after all, quite useless; my brave comrades, with unprecedented patriotism, did their duty to the utmost.

"Yes, we set out to fight for Cuba's freedom and we do not regret having done it," they declared, one by one, on the witness stand. Then, addressing the court with imposing courage, they denounced the hideous crimes practiced upon the bodies of our brothers. Although absent from court, I was able, in my prison cell, to follow the trial in all its details; (for this I must thank the convicts at Boniato Prison). Despite all threats, these men found ingenious means to get newspaper clippings and all kinds of information into my hands. In this way, they avenged the abuses and immoralities of both the warden Taboada and the supervisor, Lieutenant Rozabal, who [not only] drive them from dawn to dusk building private mansions, but moreover starve them by embezzling the prison food budget.

As the trial progressed, roles were reversed: those who came to accuse found themselves accused, and the accused became the accusers! It was not the revolutionaries who were judged there; judged once and for all time was a man named Batista . . . MONSTRUM HORRENDUM! . . . It matters less that those worthy and valiant young men have been condemned, if tomorrow the people will condemn the Dictator\* and his henchmen. Our men were consigned to the Isle of Pines Prison, in whose circular galleries the ghost of

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*Cedant arma togae.* Let arms yield to the toga.

*Dictator.* Fulgencio Batista Zaldívar.

Castell\* lingers on, and where the cries of countless victims echo yet; there our boys have been sent to expiate their love of liberty—in bitter confinement, sequestered away from society, torn from their homes and banished from their country. [Now that they are disposed of] do you not believe—as I said before—that it is difficult and thankless for their lawyer to finish [their defense]?

As a result of so many obscure and illegal machinations, due to the *will* of those who govern and the *weakness* of those who judge, I find myself here in this little room\* of the Civil Hospital—to which I have been brought to be tried in secret; so that my voice may be stifled and so that no one may learn of the things I am going to say. Why, then, do we need that imposing Palace of Justice\* which the Honorable Magistrates would without doubt find rather more comfortable? I must warn you: it is unwise to administer justice from a hospital room, surrounded by sentinels with bayonets fixed; the citizens might suppose that our justice is sick . . . and that it is captive . . .

I remind you, your laws of procedure provide that trials shall be “both audible and public;” however, the people have been barred altogether from this session of court. The only civilians admitted here have been two attorneys and six reporters, whose newspapers censorship will prevent from printing a word that I say. I see, as my sole audience, in this chamber and in the corridors, nearly a hundred soldiers and officers. I am grateful for the polite and serious attention they give me. I only wish I could have the whole Army before me! I know, one day this army will seethe with rage to wash away the awful, the shameful bloodstains splattered across the uniform by the present ruthless clique in their lust for power. On that day, oh, what a fall awaits those mounted, in arrogance, on the backs of the noble soldiers! —provided, that is, that the people have not pulled them down long before!

Finally, I should like to add that no treatise on penal law was allowed to be brought to my cell. I have at my disposal just this tiny code of law lent to me by my learned counsel, Dr. Baudilio Castellanos, the courageous defender of my comrades. In the same way they prohibited me from receiving the books of Martí; it seems the

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Castell. Notorious Isle of Pines warden who murdered prisoners there.  
Little room. nurses lounge in the hospital.

prison censorship considered them too subversive. Or is it because I named Martí as the instigator of the 26th of July?

I was also prevented from bringing to this trial reference books on any other subject. It makes no difference whatsoever! I carry in my heart the teachings of the *Maestro* and in my mind the noble ideas of all men who have [ever] defended the freedom of the peoples of the world!

I am going to make only one request of this court; I trust it will be granted as a compensation for the many abuses and outrages the accused has had to tolerate without protection of the law. I ask that my right to express myself be respected without restraint. Otherwise, even the merest semblance of justice cannot be maintained, and the last episode [of this trial] would be, more than any other, one of ignominy and cowardice.

#### IV.

I must confess that I am somewhat disappointed. I had expected that the Honorable Prosecutor would come forward with a grave accusation. I thought he would be ready to justify, to the limit, his contention—and his reasons why—I should be condemned in the name of Law and Justice (what law and what justice?) to 26 years in prison. But no. He has confined himself to an oral reading of Article 148 of the Social Defense Code. On the basis of this, plus aggravating circumstances, he demands I be imprisoned for the considerable term of 26 years! Two minutes seems very little time in which to demand and justify that a man be put behind bars for more than a quarter of a century. Can it be that the Honorable Prosecutor is, perhaps, annoyed with the court? Because, as I see it, his laconic attitude in this case mocks the solemnity with which the Honorable Magistrates declared, rather proudly, that this was a trial of great importance! I have seen prosecutors speak ten times longer in a simple narcotics case asking a sentence of only six months. The Honorable Prosecutor has supplied not a word in support of his petition. I am a just man . . . I realize that for a prosecuting attorney under oath of fidelity to the Constitution of the Republic, it is difficult to come here in the name of an unconstitutional, *de facto* government, lacking any legal—much less moral—basis, and ask that a young Cuban, a lawyer like himself, perhaps

as honorable as he, be sent to jail for 26 years. But the Honorable Prosecutor is a gifted man and I have seen much less talented persons write lengthy diatribes in defense of this regime. How, then, can I suppose that he lacks reasons with which to defend it, at least for fifteen minutes, however, contemptible that might be to any decent person? There can be no doubt that there is some noteworthy conspiracy behind all this.

## V.

Honorable Magistrates: Why such interest in keeping me quiet? Why forego those arguments that could serve as a target against which I might direct my own brief? Is it that they lack any legal, moral, and political foundations on which to base a serious statement of the question? Are they so afraid of the truth? Do they hope that I, too, will speak for only two minutes and that I will not here touch upon the points which have caused certain persons sleepless nights since the 26th of July? Since the prosecutor's petition was restricted to the mere reading of five lines of an article of the Social Defense Code,\* they might suppose that I would limit myself to these same lines and circle round and round them, like a slave turning a millstone. But I shall by no means accept such a gag, for in this trial there is at stake much more than the freedom of a single individual. Fundamental matters of principle are being debated here, the right of men to be free is on trial, the very foundations of our existence as a civilized and democratic nation are in the balance. When this trial is over, I do not want to have to reproach myself for any principle left undefended, for any truth left unsaid, for any crime left unnamed.

The Honorable Prosecutor's famous little article deserves hardly a minute of my time. I shall limit myself, for the moment, to a brief juridical skirmish against it, because I want to clear the field for an attack against all of the endless lies and deceits, the hypocrisy, the babbitttry, and the moral cowardice that set the stage for the crude comedy which, since the 10th of March—and even before then—has been called Justice in Cuba.

It is a fundamental principle of Penal Law that an imputed

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*Social Defense Code.* created at the time of Constitution of 1940.

offense must correspond exactly to the offense as described in the law. If no law applies exactly to the controversial point, there is no offense.

The article in question says textually: "A penalty of imprisonment of from three to ten years shall be imposed upon the perpetrator of any act aimed at bringing about an armed uprising against the CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF THE STATE. The penalty shall be imprisonment for from five to twenty years, in case the insurrection actually be carried into effect.

In what country is the Honorable Prosecutor living? Who has told him that we have sought to bring about an uprising against the CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF THE STATE? Two things are self-evident. In the first place, the dictatorship that oppresses the nation is not a CONSTITUTIONAL POWER, but an unconstitutional one; it was established against the Constitution, over the head of the Constitution, violating the legitimate Constitution of the Republic. The legitimate Constitution is that which emanates directly from a sovereign people. I shall demonstrate this point more fully later on, notwithstanding all the subterfuges contrived by cowards and traitors to justify the unjustifiable. In the second place, the article speaks of Powers, in the plural, not the singular, because it refers to the case of a republic governed [jointly] by a Legislative Power, an Executive Power and a Judicial Power which balance and counterbalance one another. We have fomented a rebellion against one single power, an illegal power, which has usurped and merged into a single whole both the Legislative and Executive Powers of the nation, and has thus destroyed the entire system that was specifically safeguarded by the Code now under our analysis. As to the independence of the Judiciary after the 10th of March, I shall not allude to that for I am in no mood for joking. No matter how Article 144 may be stretched, shrunk or amended, not a single comma applied to the events of the 26th of July. Let us leave this statute alone [just now] and await the opportunity to apply it to those who really did foment uprising against the Constitutional Powers of the State. Later I shall refer back to the Code to refresh the Honorable Prosecutor's memory about certain circumstances he has unfortunately overlooked.

I warn you: I have just begun! If there is in your hearts vestige of love for your country, of love for humanity, of love for justice, listen attentively to me. I know I will be silenced for mar

years; I know [the regime] will try to suppress the truth by all possible means; I know there will be a conspiracy to sink me into oblivion. But my voice will not be stifled; strength gathers in my breast even when I feel most alone, and the ardour of my own heart can sustain my voice, no matter how callous cowards may isolate and try to discourage me.

## VI.

From a shack in the mountains, I listened to [the radio broadcast\* by] the dictator on Monday, July 27th, while there were still 18 of our men in arms against the Government. Those who never experience similar moments will never be acquainted with bitterness and indignation in life. While the long-cherished hopes of freeing our people lay in ruins about us, we heard those crushed hopes gloated over by a tyrant more vicious, more arrogant, than ever. The endless stream of lies and slanders poured out in his crude, odious, repulsive language must be compared with the endless stream of clean young blood which had flowed since the previous night—flowed with his knowledge, consent, complicity and applause—being spilled by the most inhuman gang of assassins it is possible to imagine. To have believed him for one single minute should suffice to fill a man of conscience with remorse, for the rest of his life. At that moment I could not even hope to brand his miserable forehead with [the] mark of truth which condemns him for the rest of his days and for all time to come; already there was closing in around us a net of more than a thousand men, armed with weapons more powerful than ours and with peremptory orders to bring in our bodies. Now that people are beginning to learn the truth, now that—speaking before you—I am completing the mission I then set myself, I will be able to die peaceful and content. So I shall not mince words about the savage murderers.

Let us pause to consider the facts. The government said the attack showed such precision and perfection that military strategists must have done the planning. Nothing could be further from the truth. The plan was prepared by a group of young men, none of whom had any military experience; I am going to reveal their names, omitting those of two boys still alive and free: Abel San-

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*Radio broadcast. from Camp Columbia, Havana.*

tamaria, Jose Luis Tasende, Renato Guitar Rosell, Pedro Miret, Jesus Montané and this speaker. Half are dead, and in the tribute due their memory I can say that although they were *not* military experts, they had patriotism enough that—had we not been under such great disadvantages—they could have given a good beating to the entire lot of generals of the 10th of March—those generals who are neither soldiers nor patriots.

Much more difficult than planning the attack was our organizing, training, mobilizing and arming of men during this repressive regime with its millions of dollars spent on espionage, bribery and informers. Nevertheless, all our undertaking was accomplished—by the young men just mentioned and by many others like them—with incredible earnestness, discretion and constancy. Still, most praiseworthy, always, is their giving to an ideal, everything they had—ultimately, giving their very lives.

The final mobilization of men who came to this province from the most remote towns of the entire island was accomplished with admirable precision and in absolute secrecy. It is equally true that the attack was carried out with magnificent coordination. It began simultaneously at 5:15 A.M., in both Bayamo and Santiago de Cuba; and one by one, with an exactitude of minutes and seconds foreseen in advance, the buildings surrounding the barracks fell to our forces. Nevertheless, in the interests of accuracy, and even though it may detract from our reputation, I am also going to reveal a fact that was fatal: due to a most unfortunate error, half of our forces—and the better armed half, at that—went astray at the entrance to the city and were not on hand to help us at the decisive moment. Abel Santamaria, with 21 men, had occupied the City Hospital; with him went a doctor and two of our girl comrades, to attend the wounded. Raul Castro, with ten men, occupied the Palace of Justice and it was my responsibility to attack the barracks with the rest, 95 men. Preceded by an advance guard of eight who had forced Gate Three, I arrived with the first group of 45 men. It was precisely here that the battle began, when my automobile ran into a perimeter patrol armed with machine-guns. The reserve group, who had almost all the heavy weapons [the light arms were in the

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*Bayamo.* Large and historically significant town in the fertile region of the Cauto valley. The Cuban National Anthem was originally written in honor of the gallant *Bayameses* who joined the rebellious forces with a battle cry known as "el Grito de Baire" of 1895.



advance guard] turned up the wrong street and lost their way in this city, with which they were not familiar. I must clarify that I do not for a moment doubt the valour of those men; they experienced great anguish and desperation when they realized they were lost. Because of the type of action under way and because of the identical color of the uniforms of the two contending forces, it was not easy for these men to reestablish contact with us. Many of them, captured later on, met death with true heroism.

We all had strict instructions to be, above all, humane in the struggle. Never was a group of armed men more generous to the adversary. From the very first, we took numerous prisoners—even- tually nearly twenty—and there was one moment when three of our men—Ramiro Valdes, Jose Suarez and Jesus Montane—man- aged to enter a barracks and hold nearly fifty soldiers prisoners for a short time. Those soldiers have testified before the court, and all without exception have acknowledged that we treated them with absolute respect, without even offending them by the use of an un- pleasant word. Apropos of this, I want to give the prosecutor my heartfelt thanks for one thing in the trial of my comrades: When he made his report, he was fair enough to acknowledge as an incon- testable fact that we maintained a high spirit of chivalry throughout the struggle.

Discipline among the soldiers was very poor. They finally de- feated us, because of their superiority in numbers—fifteen to one—and because of the protection afforded them by the defenses of the fortress. Our men were much the better marksmen, as our enemies conceded. Courage was high on both sides.

In reflecting on the causes for our tactical failure, apart from the regrettable error already mentioned, I believe we made a mistake by dividing the commando unit we had so carefully trained. Of our best trained men and boldest leaders, there were 27 in Bayamo, 21 in the City Hospital and 10 in the Palace of Justice. If our forces had been otherwise distributed, the outcome of the battle might have been different. The clash with the patrol (purely accidental, since the unit would not have been at that point twenty seconds earlier or twenty seconds later) alerted the camp and gave them time to mobilize. Otherwise the camp would have fallen without a shot since the guard post was already in our control. On the other hand, except for the .22 calibre rifles, for which there were plenty of bul-

lets, our side was very short of ammunition. Had we had hand grenades, the Army would not have been able to resist us for fifteen minutes.

When I became convinced that all efforts to take the fort had now become quite futile, I began to withdraw our men in groups of eight and ten. Our retreat was covered by six expert marksmen un- der the command of Pedro Miret and Fidel Labrador; heroically they impeded the Army's advance. Our losses in the battle had been insignificant; 95% of our casualties came from the army's inhu- manity *after* the struggle. The group in the City Hospital had but one casualty; the rest of that group were trapped when the troops blocked that building's one exit; but our boys did not lay down their arms until their very last bullet was gone. With them was Abel Santamaria, the most generous, beloved, and intrepid of our young men, whose glorious resistance immortalizes him in the history of Cuba. We shall see the fate they met and how Batista sought to castigate the heroism of our youth.

Our plans were to continue the struggle in the mountains in case the attack on the regiment were to fail. In Siboney I was able to gather together a third of our forces; but many of these men were now discouraged. About twenty of them decided to surrender; later we shall see what became of them. The rest, 18 men, with what arms and ammunition was left, followed me into the mountains. The terrain was completely unknown to us. For one week we held the heights of the Gran Piedra range and the Army occupied the foot- hills. We could not come down, and they could not decide to come up. It was not force of arms but hunger and thirst that ultimately overcame our resistance. I had to divide the men into smaller groups. Some managed to slip through the Army lines; others were escorted in to be surrendered by Monsignor Perez Serantes.\* Finally, only two companions remained with me: Jose Suarez and Oscar Alcalde. While the three of us were totally exhausted, a force led by Lieutenant Sarria surprised us in our sleep at dawn. This was Saturday, August the first. The slaughter of prisoners had ceased now, as a result of tremendo s protest by the people. This officer, a man of honor, saved

*Monsignor Perez Serantes.* Archbishop of Santiago. He sympathized with and actively supported the struggle against Batista; his intervention obtained promise of trial for Castro and few other young men who had escaped the torture and murder of rebels immediately following their July 26th attempt.

us from being murdered on the spot, with our hands tied [behind us].

I need not deny here the statements by Ugalde Carrillo and company, who tried to blacken my name in an effort to mask their own cowardice, incompetence, and criminality. The facts are clear enough.

My purpose is not to detain the court with epic narrations. All I have said is essential for the more exact understanding of the rest of my plea.

Let me mention two facts that enable objective judgment of our attitude. First: to facilitate capture of the regiment we could simply have seized all the high ranking officers in their homes. This possibility was rejected for the very humane reason that we wished to avoid scenes of tragedy and struggle in the presence of their families. Second: we agreed not to take over any radio station until the Army camp was in our power. This attitude, uncommonly gallant and magnanimous, spared the citizens much bloodshed. With only ten men I could have seized a radio station, to draw the people into the revolt. The people's will to fight could not be questioned. I had a recording of Eduardo Chibás last message on C.M.Q.\* [I also had] patriotic poems and battle hymns capable of moving the least sensitive—especially with the sound of battle in their ears. But I did not want to use [these incitements] although our situation was desperate.

## VII

The regime has emphatically repeated that our movement did not have popular support. I have never heard an assertion so naive, and at the same so full of bad faith. The regime seeks to show the submission and cowardice of the people. They almost claim that the people support the Dictatorship; they do not know how this pretense offends the brave *Orientales*. Santiago thought our attack was only a local disturbance between two factions of soldiers; not until many hours later, did they realize what had happened. Who can doubt the valour, the civic pride and the limitless courage of the

*Eduardo Chibás.* Cuban senator, leader of the *Partido del Pueblo Cubano* (Cuban Peoples' Party), also known as the *Ortodoxo* Party. He was a favorite candidate in the presidential campaign of 1952. Chibás, in a wave of depression provoked by the political apathy of the people and by sedition in his own ranks, took his own life shortly before the coup of the 10th of March.

rebel and patriotic people of Santiago de Cuba? If Moncada had fallen into our hands, even the women of Santiago de Cuba would have shouldered arms. Many were the rifles loaded for our fighters by the nurses of the City Hospital! They fought alongside us. That is something we shall never forget.

It was never our intention to engage the soldiers of the regiment in combat, but to seize control and weapons by surprise, to arouse the people and then call the soldiers together. We would have invited them to abandon the flag of tyranny and to embrace the banner of Liberty; to defend the supreme interests of the nation and not the petty interests of a small group; to turn their guns around and fire on the enemies of the people and not fire on the people, among whom are their own sons and fathers; to join with the people themselves, brothers of ours that they are, instead of opposing the people as the enemies the government tried to make of them; to march behind the only beautiful ideal worthy of the sacrifice of one's life—the greatness and the happiness of one's country. To those who doubt that many soldiers would have followed us, I ask: What Cuban does not cherish glory? What heart is not set aflame by the dawn of freedom?

The Navy did not fight against us, and it would undoubtedly have come over to our side later. It is known that that branch of the Armed Forces is the least dominated by the Dictatorship and that there is a very intense civic conscience among its members. But, as regards the rest of the national armed forces, would they have fought against a people in revolt? I declare that they would not! A soldier is made of flesh and blood; he thinks, observes and feels. He is susceptible to the opinions, beliefs, sympathies and antipathies of the people. If you ask his opinion he may tell you he cannot express it; but that does not mean he has no opinion. He is affected by exactly the same problems that affect other citizens: subsistence, rent, the education of his children, their future, etc. Every one of his kin is an inevitable point of contact between him and the people and even one of his kin relates him to the present and future situation of the society in which he lives. It is foolish to presume that the salary a soldier receives from the State—a modest enough salary, moreover—should solve the vital problems posed for him by his needs, duties and sentiments as a member of his family and as a member of his community.



This brief explanation has been necessary because it is fundamental to a consideration to which few people, until now, have paid any attention: soldiers have a profound respect for the sentiments of the majority of the people! During the Machado\* regime, in the same proportion as popular antipathy increased, the loyalty of the Army visibly decreased. This was so true that a group of women almost succeeded in subverting Camp Columbia. But this is proved even more clearly by a recent development. While Grau San Martin's\* regime was able to preserve its maximum popularity among the people, unscrupulous ex-officers and power-hungry civilians attempted innumerable conspiracies in the Army. But none of them found a following in the rank and file.

### VIII

The coup of the 10th of March\* occurred at the moment when the civil government's prestige had dwindled to its lowest ebb, a circumstance of which Batista and his clique took advantage. Why did they not strike their blow after the first of June? Simply because, had they waited for the majority of the nation to express its will at the polls, the troops would not have responded to the conspiracy!

Consequently, a second assertion can be made: the Army has never revolted against a regime with a popular majority behind it. These are historic truths, and if Batista insists on remaining in power at all costs against the will of the majority of Cubans, his end will be more tragic than that of Gerardo Machado.

I have the right to express an opinion about the Armed Forces; I defended them when everyone else was silent. And I did this neither as a conspirator, nor from any kind of personal interest (for we then enjoyed full constitutional prerogatives). I was prompted only by humane instincts and civic duty. In those days, the news-

*Machado.* Gerardo Machado y Morales. Originally elected during the sugar boom (1924). Gerardo Machado was a popular president who turned out to be a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, assuming dictatorial powers in 1928 and precipitating a period of bloody civil strife which ended in 1933.

*Grau San Martin.* Ramon Grau San Martin, acknowledged leader of the liberal movement that grew around the nucleus of intellectuals who fought against Machado. Grau's party, after an unsuccessful try in 1934, was constitutionally elected in 1944.

*10 of March.* 10th of March, 1952, date of military coup by which Batista seized control of the government; near the close of Prios' term as elected president.

paper "Alerta" was one of the most widely read because of its position in national politics. In its pages, I campaigned against the forced labor to which the soldiers were subjected on the private estates of high civil and military figures. On the third of March, 1952, I supplied the courts with data, photographs, films and other proofs denouncing this state of affairs. I also pointed out in those articles that it was elementary decency to increase Army pay. I should like to know who else raised his voice on that occasion to protest against [all the] injustice done the soldiers. Certainly not Batista and Company,\* living well-protected on their luxurious estates, surrounded by all kinds of security measures, while I ran a thousand risks without either bodyguards or arms.

Just as I defended the soldiers then, now—when all others are again silent—I tell the soldiers that they allowed themselves to be miserably deceived; and to the deception and shame of the 10th of March, they have added the disgrace—a thousand times greater disgrace—of the frightful and unjustifiable crimes of Santiago de Cuba. Since that time, the uniform of the Army remains degraded. Just as last year I told the people, and decried before the courts, that soldiers were working as slaves on private estates, so today I make the bitter charge that there are soldiers stained through and through with the blood of the Cuban youths they have tortured and slain. And I also say that when the Army serves the Republic, defends the nation, respects the people, and protects every citizen, it is only fair that the soldier should earn at least a hundred dollars a month. But when the soldiers slay and oppress the people, betray the nation and defend the interests of one clique, the Army deserves not a cent of the Republic's money and [I add] that Camp Columbia should be converted into a school with ten thousand orphans installed there, instead of soldiers.

### IX

Since, above all things, I wish to be just, I cannot blame all the soldiers for the crimes and the shame that is the work of a few Army men who are evil and treacherous. However, every honorable and upstanding soldier who loves his career and his uniform is duty-bound to demand and to fight for the cleansing of this guilt, for the

At this time Batista was senator in Cuba and also a candidate for presidency in forthcoming elections.

avenging of his betrayal, and for the punishment of the guilty. Otherwise, the soldier's uniform will be forever a mark of infamy, instead of a source of pride.

Naturally, the 10th of March regime had no choice but to remove the soldiers from private estates. But Batista did so only to put them to work as porters, chauffeurs, servants and bodyguards to the whole rabble of petty politicians who form the party of the Dictatorship. Every fourth or fifth rank official considers himself entitled to the services of a soldier—to drive his car and to shield his back, as though he were constantly afraid of receiving the kick he so richly deserves.

If there had been any real intention of reform, why did the regime not confiscate all the estates and the millions [of pesos] from men like Genovevo Perez Damera,\* who acquired their fortunes exploiting soldiers, driving them like slaves, and misappropriating the funds of the Armed Forces? But no; Genovevo and the others no doubt still have soldiers protecting them on their estates because, the generals of the 10th of March, deep down inside, expect to follow their example. The regime dared not set a precedent of punishment.

The 10th of March was indeed a miserable deception. After Batista and his band of corrupt and disreputable politicians had failed in their electoral plans, they took advantage of the Army's discontent and used it to climb to power on the backs of the soldiers. I know there are many [Army] men disgruntled because they have been disappointed. At first, their pay was raised; but later, by means of deductions and reductions of every kind, it was lowered again; many of the old elements, which had drifted away from the Armed Forces, returned to the ranks and blocked the advancement of young, capable and valuable men. Good soldiers have been neglected while the most scandalous nepotism prevails. Many decent military men are now asking themselves what need had the Armed Forces to assume the tremendous historical responsibility of destroying our Constitution, merely to put in power a group of immoral men. [Especially these] men of bad reputation, corrupt, politically degenerate beyond redemption, who could never again have occupied a political post had it not been at the point of bayonets—furthermore, bayonets they did not even wield themselves!

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*Genovevo Perez.* Genovevo Perez, Chief of Staff under both Grau San Martin and Prio Socarras, was largely responsible for the Cuban Army's demoralization, which facilitated Batista's *coup* in 1952.

The soldiers endure a tyranny even worse than the civilians. They are under constant surveillance and not one of them enjoys the slightest security in his post. Any unjustified suspicion, any gossip, any intrigue, or denunciation, is sufficient to cause transfer, dismissal or dishonorable imprisonment. Did not Tabernilla,\* in a circular, forbid them to talk with any one opposed to the government—that is to say, with ninety-nine percent of the people? What distrust! Not even the Vestal Virgins of Rome were required to observe such a rule! As for the widely publicized soldier's housing, there are no more than 500 in all the island; and yet, with what has been spent on tanks, guns and other weapons there would have been enough money to build a house for each enlisted man.

What concerns Batista is not to take care of the Army, but that the Army should take care of him! To augment the Army's power of oppression and killing is not to increase well-being among the soldiers. Triple guard duty, constant confinement to barracks, continual anxiety, the enmity of the people, uncertainty about the future—that's what has been given the soldier. In other words: "Die for the regime, soldier, give it your sweat and blood. We shall dedicate a speech to you and award you a posthumous promotion (when it no longer matters) and afterwards—we shall go on living luxuriously, making ourselves rich. Kill, abuse, oppress the people. When the people grow weary and all this comes to an end, you shall pay for our crimes, while we go abroad to live like princes. And if, one day, we return, do not knock—neither you nor your children—on the doors of our mansions, for we shall be millionaires, and millionaires do not know the poor. Kill, soldier, oppress the people, die for the regime, give your sweat and blood . . ."

## X

But, if blind to that sad reality, a minority of soldiers had decided to fight the people—the people who were going to liberate them too from tyranny—still victory would have gone to the people. The Honorable Prosecutor was very much interested in knowing our chances for success. These chances were based on considerations of technical, military and social orders. There has been an attempt to establish the myth that modern arms render the people helpless

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*Tabernilla.* General Francisco Tabernilla. Chief of Armed Forces under Batista.

to overthrow tyrants. Military parades and the pompous display of the machines of war are utilized to perpetuate this myth and to create in the people a complex of absolute impotence. But no weapon, no violence can vanquish the people once they have decided to win back their rights. Both past and present are full of examples. Most recently there has been the revolt in Bolivia, where miners with dynamite sticks laid low the Regular Army regiments. But, fortunately, we Cubans need not look for examples abroad. No example is as inspiring as that of our own land. During the war of 1895 there were nearly half a million armed Spanish soldiers in Cuba—many more than the Dictator counts upon today to hold back a population five times greater. The arms of the Spanish were, beyond comparison, both more up-to-date and more powerful than those of the patriots. In many of the contests, [the Spanish] were equipped with field artillery and the infantry used carbines similar to those still in use by the infantry of today. The Cubans were armed only with their machetes, for their cartridge belts were nearly always empty. There is an unforgettable passage in the story of our war of independence, narrated by General Miro Argentes,\* Chief of State for Antonio Maceo.\* I managed to bring it copied on this little note, in order not to depend upon memory.

"Untrained men under the command of Pedro Delgado, most of them equipped only with machetes, were virtually annihilated as they threw themselves on the solid ranks of Spaniards. It is not an exaggeration to assert that of every fifty men, 25 were killed. Some even attacked the Spaniards with bare fists, without pistols, without machetes, without even knives. Searching through the reeds by the Hondo River, fifteen more dead of the Cuban party were found and it was not immediately evident to what group they belonged. They did not appear to have shouldered arms, their clothes were intact and only tin drinking cups hung from their waists; a few steps ahead lay a dead Spanish horse, all its equipment intact. We reconstructed the climax of the tragedy. These men, following their daring chief, Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Delgado, had earned heroes' laurels; they had thrown themselves against bayonets with bare hands; the clash of metal which was heard around them was the sound of their drinking cups banging against the saddle-horn."

*General Miro Argentes.* Catalanian general who became one of the leaders of the War of Independence. Father of Dr. Miró Cardona, the first premier of the present Revolutionary government.

*Antonio Maceo.* 1848-1896 The "Titan of Bronze", the most spectacular warrior of Cuba's War of Independence.

Maceo was deeply moved. This man so accustomed to ing death in all its forms, murmured this praise: "I had never seen this—untrained and unarmed men, attacking the Spaniards with only a drinking cup for a weapon. And I called it an *impedimento*."

This is how the people fight when they want to win their liberty: they throw stones at airplanes and overturn tanks!

## XI

As soon as Santiago de Cuba was in our hands, we would immediately have readied the people for war. Bayamo was attacked precisely to situate our advance forces along the Cauto River. Never forget that this province which has a million and a half inhabitants today, provides without a doubt the best resistance and the best patriotic men of Cuba. It was this province that continued the struggle for independence for thirty years and paid the highest tribute of blood, sacrifice and heroism. In Oriente, you can still breathe the atmosphere of that glorious epoch. At dawn, when the cocks crow as if they were bugles calling soldiers to reveille, and when the sun rises, radiating over the rugged mountains, it seems that once again we will hear the cry of Yara or Baire.\*

I stated that the second consideration on which we based our chances for success was one of social order because we were assured of the people's support. When we speak of the people we do not mean the comfortable ones, the conservative elements of the nation who welcome any regime of oppression, any dictatorship, any despotism, prostrating themselves before the master of the moment and who grind their foreheads into the ground. When we speak of the struggle, the *people* means the vast unredeemed masses, to whom we make promises and whom all deceive; we mean the people who yearn for a better, more dignified and more just nation; who are motivated by ancestral aspirations of justice, for they have suffered injury and mockery, generation after generation; who long for great and wise changes in all aspects of their life; people, who, to attain these changes, are ready to give even the very last breath of their lives when they believe in something or in someone, especially when they believe in themselves. In stating a purpose, the first condition

*Yara and Baire.* "Yara" on October 10, 1868, was the first battlecry for independence. The cry of "Baire" on February 24, 1895, announced the drive to liberate Cuba from Spanish rule.

sincerity and good faith, is to do precisely what nobody else ever does, that is, to speak with absolute clarity, without fear. The demagogues and professional politicians who manage to perform the miracle of being right in everything and in pleasing everyone, are, of necessity, deceiving everyone about everything. The revolutionaries must proclaim their ideas courageously, define their principles and express their intentions so that no one is deceived, neither friend nor foe.

The people we counted on in our struggle were these:

Seven hundred thousand Cubans without work, who desire to earn their daily bread honestly without having to emigrate in search of livelihood.

Five hundred thousand farm laborers inhabiting miserable shacks, who work four months of the year and starve for the rest of the year, sharing their misery with their children, who have not an inch of land to cultivate, and whose existence inspires compassion in any heart not made of stone.

Four hundred thousand industrial laborers and stevedores whose retirement funds have been embezzled, whose benefits are being taken away, whose homes are wretched quarters, whose salaries pass from the hands of the boss to those of the usurer, whose future is a pay reduction and dismissal, whose life is eternal work and whose only rest is in the tomb.

One hundred thousand small farmers who live and die working on land that is not theirs, looking at it with sadness as Moses did the promised land, to die without possessing it; who, like feudal serfs, have to pay for the use of their parcel of land by giving up a portion of their products; who cannot love it, improve it, beautify it or plant a lemon or an orange tree on it, because they never know when a sheriff will come with the rural guard to evict them from it.

Thirty thousand teachers and professors who are so devoted, dedicated and necessary to the better destiny of future generations and who are so badly treated and paid.

Twenty thousand small business men weighted down by debts, ruined by the crisis and harangued by a plague of filibusters and venal officials.

Ten thousand young professionals: doctors, engineers, lawyers, veterinarians, school teachers, dentists, pharmacists, newspapermen, painters, sculptors, etc., who come forth from school with their de-

grees, anxious to work and full of hope, only to find themselves at a dead end with all doors closed, and where no ear hears their clamor or supplication.

These are the people, the ones who know misfortune and, therefore, are capable of fighting with limitless courage!

To the people whose desperate roads through life have been paved with the brick of betrayals and false promises, we were not going to say: "we will eventually give you what you need, but rather — Here you have it, fight for it with all your might so that liberty and happiness may be yours!"

## XII

In the brief of this cause there must be recorded the five revolutionary laws that would have been proclaimed immediately after the capture of the Moncada barracks and would have been broadcast to the nation by radio. It is possible that Colonel Chaviano may deliberately have destroyed these documents, but even if he has done so, I conserve them in my memory.

The First Revolutionary Law would have returned power to the people and proclaimed the Constitution of 1940 the supreme Law of the land, until such time as the people should decide to modify or change it. And, in order to effect its implementation and punish those who had violated it—there being no organization for holding elections to accomplish this—the revolutionary movement, as the momentous incarnation of this sovereignty, the only source of legitimate power, would have assumed all the faculties inherent to it, except that of modifying the Constitution itself: In other words it would have assumed the legislative, executive and judicial powers.

This approach could not be more crystal clear nor more free of vacillation and sterile charlatanism. A government acclaimed by the mass of rebel people would be vested with every power, everything necessary in order to proceed with the effective implementation of the popular will and true justice. From that moment, the Judicial Power, which since March 10th has placed itself *against* the Constitution and *outside* the Constitution, would cease to exist and we would proceed to its immediate and total reform before it would again assume the power granted to it by the Supreme Law of the Republic. Without our first taking those previous measures, a return to legality by putting the custody of the courts back into the hands that have

crippled the system so dishonorably would constitute a fraud, a deceit, and one more betrayal.

The Second Revolutionary Law would have granted property, not mortgageable and not transferable, to all planters, sub-planters, lessees, partners and squatters who hold parcels of five or less "caballerias"\* of land, and the state would indemnify the former owners on the basis of the rental which they would have received for these parcels over a period of ten years.

The Third Revolutionary Law would have granted workers and employees the right to share 30% of the profits of all the large industrial, mercantile and mining enterprises, including the sugar mills. The strictly agricultural enterprises would be exempt in consideration of other agrarian laws which would have been implemented.

The Fourth Revolutionary Law would have granted all planters the right to share 55% of the sugar production and a minimum quota of forty thousand "arrobas"\* for all small planters who have been established for three or more years.

The Fifth Revolutionary Law would have ordered the confiscation of all holdings and ill-gotten gains of those who had committed frauds during previous regimes, as well as the holdings and ill-gotten gains of all their legatees and heirs. To implement this, special courts with full powers would gain access to all records of all corporations registered or operating in this country [in order] to investigate concealed funds of illegal origin, and to request that foreign governments extradite persons and attach holdings [rightfully belonging to the Cuban people]. Half of the property recovered would be used to subsidize retirement funds for workers and the other half would be used for hospitals, asylums and charitable organizations.

Furthermore, it was to be declared that the Cuban policy in the Americas would be one of close solidarity with the democratic people of this continent, and that those politically persecuted by bloody tyrants oppressing our sister nations would find generous asylum, brotherhood, and bread in the land of Marti. Not the persecution, hunger and treason that they find today. Cuba should be the bulwark of liberty and not a shameful link in the chain of despotism.

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*Caballeria.* tract of land, about 33 1/3 acres.  
*Arroba.* 25 pounds.

### XIII

These laws would have been proclaimed immediately, as soon as the upheaval were ended and prior to a detailed and far-reaching study, they would have been followed by another series of laws and fundamental measures, such as, the Agrarian Reform, Integral Reform of Education, nationalization of the Utilities Trust and the Telephone Trust, refund to the people of the illegal excessive rates this company has charged, and payment to the Treasury of all taxes brazenly evaded in the past.

All these laws and others would be inspired in the exact fulfillment of two essential articles of our Constitution. One of these orders the outlawing of feudal estates by indicating the maximum area of land any person or entity can possess for each type of agricultural enterprise, by adopting measures which would tend to revert the land to the Cubans. The other categorically orders the State to use all means at its disposal to provide employment to all those who lack it and to insure a decent livelihood to each manual laborer or intellectual.

None of these articles may be called unconstitutional. The first popularly elected government would have to respect these laws, not only because of moral obligation to the nation, but because when people achieve something they have yearned for throughout generations, no force in the world is capable of taking it away again.

The problems concerning land, the problem of industrialization, the problem of housing, the problem of unemployment, the problem of education and the problem of the health of the people; these are the six problems we would take immediate steps to resolve, along with the restoration of public liberties and political democracy.

Perhaps this exposition appears cold and theoretical if one does not know the shocking and tragic conditions of the country with regard to these six problems, to say nothing of the most humiliating political oppression.

85% of the small farmers in Cuba pay rent and live under the constant threat of being dispossessed from the land that they cultivate. More than half the best cultivated land belongs to foreigners. In *Oriente*, the largest province, the lands of the United Fruit Company and West Indian Company join the north coast to the southern one. There are two hundred thousand peasant families who do not have a single acre of land to cultivate to provide food for their starving

children. On the other hand, nearly three hundred thousand "caballerias" of productive land owned by powerful interests remains uncultivated.

Cuba is above all an agricultural state. Its population is largely rural. The city depends on these rural areas. The rural people won the Independence. The greatness and prosperity of our country depends on a healthy and vigorous rural population that loves the land and knows how to cultivate it, within the framework of a state that protects and guides them. Considering all this, how can the present state of affairs be tolerated any longer?

#### XIV

With the exception of a few food, lumber and textile industries, Cuba continues to be a producer of raw materials. We export sugar to import candy, we export hides to import shoes, we export iron to import plows. Everybody agrees that the need to industrialize the country is urgent, that we need steel industries, paper and chemical industries; that we must improve cattle and grain products, the technique and the processing in our food industry, in order to balance the ruinous competition of the Europeans in cheese products, condensed milk, liquors and oil, and that of the Americans in canned goods; that we need merchant ships; that tourism should be an enormous source of revenue. But the capitalists insist that the workers remain under a Claudian\* yoke; the State folds its arms and industrialization can wait for the Greek calends.

Just as serious or even worse is the housing problem. There are two hundred thousand huts and hovels in Cuba; four hundred thousand families in the country and in the cities live cramped into barracks and tenements without even the minimum sanitary requirements; two million two hundred thousand of our urban population pay rents which absorb between one fifth and one third of their income; and two million eight hundred thousand of our rural and suburban population lack electricity. If the State proposes lowering rents, landlords threaten to freeze all construction; if the State does not interfere, construction goes on so long as the landlords get high rents, otherwise, they would not lay a single brick even though the rest of the population should have to live exposed to the elements.

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*Claudius Caecus*. refers to Roman Emperor who so oppressed the plebians that they left Rome.

The utilities monopoly is no better: they extend lines as far as it is profitable and beyond that point, they don't care if the people have to live in darkness for the rest of their lives. The State folds its arms and the people have neither homes nor electricity.

Our educational system is perfectly compatible with the rest of our national situation. Where the *guajiro*\* is not the owner of his land, what need is there for agricultural schools? Where there are no industries what need is there for technical or industrial schools? Everything falls within the same absurd logic: there is neither one thing nor the other. In any small European country there are more than 200 technical and industrial arts schools; in Cuba, there are only six such schools, and the boys graduate without having anywhere to use their skills. The little rural schools are attended by only half the school-age children—barefoot, half-naked and undernourished—and frequently the teacher must buy necessary materials from his own salary. Is this the way to make a nation great?

#### XV

Only death can liberate one from so much misery. In this, however, —early death—the state is most helpful. 90% of rural children are consumed by parasites which filter through their bare feet from the earth. Society is moved to compassion upon hearing of the kidnapping or murder of one child, but they are criminally indifferent to the mass murder of so many thousands of children who die every year from lack of facilities, agonizing with pain. Their innocent eyes—death already shining in them—seem to look into infinity as if entreating forgiveness for human selfishness, as if asking God to stay his wrath. When the head of a family works only four months a year, with what can he purchase clothing and medicine for his children? They will grow up with rickets, with not a single good tooth in their mouths by the time they reach thirty; they will have heard ten million speeches and will finally die of misery and deception. Public hospitals, which are always full, accept only patients recommended by some powerful politician who, in turn, demands the electoral votes of the unfortunate one and his family so that Cuba may continue forever the same or worse.

With this background, is it not understandable that from May

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*Guajiro*. term usually refers to modest and underprivileged farmers in Oriente province.



to December over a million persons lost their jobs, and that Cuba, with a population of five and a half million, has a greater percentage of unemployed than France or Italy with a population of forty million each?

When you judge a defendant for robbery, Your Honors, do you ask him how long he has been unemployed? Do you ask him how many children he has, which days of the week he ate and which he didn't, do you concern yourselves with his environment at all? You send him to jail without further thought. But those who burn warehouses and stores to collect insurance do not go to jail, even though a few human beings should have happened to [be cremated with the property insured]. The insured have money to hire lawyers and bribe judges. You jail the poor wretch who steals because he is hungry; but none of the hundreds who steal from the Government has ever spent a night in jail; you dine with them at the end of the year in some elegant place and they enjoy your respect.

In Cuba when a bureaucrat becomes a millionaire overnight and enters the fraternity of the rich, he could very well be greeted with the words of that opulent Balzac character, Taillefer, who, in his toast to the young heir to an enormous fortune, said: "Gentlemen, let us drink to the power of gold! Mr. Valentine, a millionaire six time over has just ascended the throne. He is king, can do everything, is above everything—like all the rich. Henceforward, equality before the law, before the Constitution, will be a myth for him; for he will not be subject to laws, the laws will be subject to him. There are no courts or sentences for millionaires."

The future of the country and the solution of its problems cannot continue to depend on the selfish interests of a dozen financiers, nor on the cold calculations of profits that ten or twelve magnates draw up in their air-conditioned offices. The country cannot continue begging on its knees for miracles from a few golden calves, similar to the Biblical one destroyed by the fury of a prophet. Golden calves cannot perform miracles of any kind. The problems of the Republic can be solved only if we dedicate ourselves to fight for that Republic with the same energy, honesty and patriotism our liberators had when they created it.

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*Carlos Saladrigas.* Batista's presidential candidate in 1944 elections, Saladrigas was defeated.

## XVI

It is not by statesmen such as Carlos Saladrigas,\* whose statesmanship consists of preserving the status quo and mouthing phrases like the "absolute freedom of enterprise," "guarantees to investment capital" and "the law of supply and demand," that we will solve these problems. Those ministers can chat gaily in a mansion on Fifth Avenue\* until there remains not even the dust of the bones of those whose problems required immediate solution. In this present-day world, social problems are not solved by spontaneous generation.

A revolutionary government with the backing of the people and the respect of the nation, after cleaning the various institutions of all venal and corrupt officials, would proceed immediately to industrialize the country, mobilizing all inactive capital, currently estimated at about 1500 million dollars, through the National Bank and the Agricultural, Industrial and Development Bank, and submitting this mammoth task to experts and men of absolute competence, completely removed from all political machinations, for study, direction, planning and realization.

After settling the one hundred thousand small farmers as owners on land which they previously rented, a revolutionary government would proceed immediately to settle the land problem. First, as the Constitution orders we would establish the maximum amount of land to be held by each type of agricultural enterprise and would acquire the excess acres by: expropriation, recovery of the lands stolen from the State, improvement of swampland, planting of large nurseries and reserving of zones for reforestation. Secondly, we would distribute the remaining land among peasant families with priority given to the larger ones, and would promote agricultural cooperatives with a single technical, professional direction in farming and cattle raising. Finally, we would provide resources, equipment, protection and useful guidance to the peasants.

A revolutionary government would solve the housing problem by cutting all rents in half, by providing tax exemptions on homes inhabited by the owners; by tripling taxes on rented homes; by tearing down hovels and replacing them with modern multiple-dwelling buildings; and by financing housing all over the island on a scale heretofore unheard of; with the criterion that, just as each rural family should possess its own tract of land, each city family should own its

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*Fifth Avenue.* located in Miramar residential district of Havana.

home or apartment. There is plenty of building material and more than enough manpower to make a decent home for every Cuban. But if we continue to wait for the miracle of the golden calf, a thousand years will have gone by and the problem will still be the same. On the other hand, today there are greater than ever possibilities of bringing electricity to the remotest corner of the island. The use of nuclear energy in this field is now a reality and will greatly reduce the cost of producing electricity.

With these three projects and reforms, the problem of unemployment would automatically disappear and the work to improve public health and to fight against disease would be made much less difficult.

Finally, a revolutionary government would undertake the integral reform of the educational system, bringing it in line with the foregoing projects with the idea of educating those generations who will have the privilege of living in a happy land. Do not forget the words of the Apóstol\*: "A serious error is being made in Latin America: where the inhabitants depend almost exclusively on the products of the soil for their livelihood, the education stress, contradictorily, is on urban rather than farm life." "The happiest people are the ones whose children are well-educated and instructed in philosophy; whose sentiments are directed into noble channels." "A well-educated people will always be strong and free."

The spirit of education lies, however, in the teacher himself and in Cuba the teaching profession is miserably underpaid. Despite this, no one is more dedicated than the Cuban teacher. Who among us has not learned his ABC's in the little public schoolhouse? It is time we stopped paying pittance to these young men and women who are entrusted with the sacred task of teaching the young. No teacher should earn less than \$200, no secondary professor should get less than \$350, if they are to devote themselves exclusively to their high calling without suffering want. Moreover, all rural teachers should have free use of the various systems of transportation; and, at least every five years, all teachers should enjoy a sabbatical leave of six months with pay so they may attend special refresher courses at home and abroad to keep abreast of the latest developments in their field. In this way, the curriculum and the teaching system may be constantly improved.

Where will the money be found for all this? When there is an end to rife embezzlement of government funds, when public officials

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*Apóstol.* Refers to Jose Martí.

stop taking graft from the large companies who owe taxes to the State, when the enormous resources of the country are brought into full use, when we no longer buy tanks, bombers and guns for this country (which has no frontiers to defend and where these instruments of war, now being purchased, are used against the people) when there is more interest in educating the people than in killing them — then there will be more than enough money.

## XVII

Cuba could easily provide for a population three times as great as it now has, so there is no excuse for the abject poverty of a single one of its present inhabitants. The markets should be overflowing with produce, pantries should be full, all hands should be working. This is not an inconceivable thought. What is inconceivable is that anyone should go to bed hungry, that children should die for lack of medical attention; what is inconceivable is that 30% of our farm people cannot write their names and that 99% of them know nothing of Cuba's history. What is inconceivable is that the majority of our rural people are now living in worse circumstances than were the Indians Columbus discovered living in the fairest land that human eyes had ever seen.

To those who would call me a dreamer, I quote the words of Martí: "A true man does not seek the path where advantage lies, but rather, the path where duty lies, and this is the only practical man whose dream of today will be the law of tomorrow, because he who has looked back on the upheavals of history and has seen civilization going up in flames, crying out in bloody struggle, throughout the centuries, knows that the future well-being of man, without exception lies on the side of duty."

## XVIII

Only when we understand that such high ideals inspired them can we conceive of the heroism of the young men who fell in Santiago.

The meager material means at our disposal was all that prevented our certain success. When the soldiers were told that Prio

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*Dr. Carlos Prio Socarras.* Participated in overthrow of Machado, later becoming member of Grau San Martin's cabinet, finally was elected President of Cuba in 1948.



had given a million dollars to us, they were told this in the regime's attempt to distort the most serious fact—the fact that our movement had no link with past politicians. The regime [was trying] to prevent the soldiers from learning that this movement is a new Cuban generation with its own ideas, rising up against tyranny; that this movement is made up of young men who were barely seven years old when Batista committed the first of his crimes in 1934.

The lie about the million dollars could not have been more absurd. If, with less than \$20,000, we armed 165 men and attacked one regiment and one squadron, then with a million dollars we could have armed 8,000 men to attack 50 regiments and 50 squadrons—and Ugalde Carrillo\* would not have found out until Sunday, July 26th, at 5:15 a.m. I assure you that for every man who fought, twenty well-trained men were unable to fight, for lack of arms. When these men paraded along the streets of Havana with the student demonstration on the Centenary of Marti, they solidly packed six city blocks. If even 200 more men had been able to fight [at Moncada] or had we possessed 20 more hand-grenades, perhaps this honorable court would have been spared all this bother.

The politicians spent millions of dollars buying off consciences, whereas, a handful of Cubans who wanted to save their country's honor, had to face death—bare-handed, for lack of funds. This explains why the country, to this very day, has been governed not by generous and dedicated men, but by political racketeers, the scum of our public life.

With pride, therefore, I say that, in accord with our principles, we have asked no past or present politician for a penny. Those who gave us funds for the cause did so with sacrifice beyond compare. For example, Elpidio Sosa who gave up his job and came to me one day with \$300 for the cause; Fernando Chenard, who sold the photographic equipment with which he earned his livelihood; Pedro Marrero, who contributed several months' salary and who had to be stopped from actually selling the very furniture in his house; Oscar Alcalde, who sold his pharmaceutical laboratory, and Jesús Montané, who gave his five years' savings, and so on, with many others each giving the little he had.

One must have great faith in his country to do such a thing.

*Ugalde Carrillo.* Colonel Ugalde Carrillo, Commander of Batista's armed forces in the region neighboring the town of Nicaro.

The remembrance of these gestures of idealism brings me straight to the most bitter chapter of this defense—the price that tyranny made them pay for wanting to free Cuba from oppression and injustice.

## XIX

Multiply by ten the crimes of November 27th, 1871,\* and you will have the monstrous and repulsive crimes of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, 1953, in Oriente Province. These are still fresh in our memory, but someday after years have passed by, when the skies of this nation are clear once again, when tempers are calmed and fear no longer torments our spirits, then we will begin to see the magnitude of the massacre in all of its shocking reality. And future generations will be struck with horror whenever they look back on these acts of barbarity unprecedented in our history. But I do not want to become enraged. I need clearness of mind and peace in my heavy heart, in order to relate the deeds as simply as possible, in no sense dramatizing them, but just as they took place. I feel shame as a Cuban that heartless men should have committed such unthinkable crimes, dishonoring our country before the rest of the world.

This tyrant Batista was never a man of scruples. He has never hesitated to tell his people the most outrageous lies. To justify his coup of the 10th of March, he concocted stories about a fictitious army uprising, which was supposedly scheduled to occur in April, and which he "wanted to avert so that the Republic might not be drenched in blood." A ridiculous little tale nobody believed! And when he himself *did* want to drench the Republic in blood, when he wanted to smother in terror and torture the [rightful and] just rebellion of Cuba's youth, who were not willing to be his slaves, then he contrived still more fantastic lies. What little respect one must have for a people when one tries to deceive them so miserably!

## XX

On the very day of my arrest I publicly assumed responsibility for our armed movement on the 26th of July. If there had been an iota of truth in even one of the many statements the Dictator

*November 27, 1871* Date of a *cause celebre*, where a group of medical students were summarily executed for supposedly desecrating the grave of a Spanish grandee.

made against our fighters, in his speech on July 27th, that would have been enough to undermine the moral impact of my case. Why then, was I not brought to trial? Why were medical certificates forged? Why did [the regime] violate all laws during the proceedings and desecrate so scandalously the rulings of the Court? Why were so many things done—things never before seen done in a court of law—in order to prevent my appearance at all costs? In contrast I could not begin to tell you all I went through in order to appear. I asked the Court to bring me to trial in accordance with all established principles, and I denounced the underhanded schemes that were afoot to prevent it. I wanted to argue with [my accusers] face to face.

But they did *not* wish to [face me]. Who was telling the truth and who was not? The declarations made by the Dictator at Camp Columbia could be considered amusing if so many lives were not involved.

He claimed we were a group of hirelings and that amongst us were many foreigners. He said that the central part of our plan was an attempt to kill him—him, him, always him. As if the men who attacked Camp Moncada could not have killed him and twenty like him, had they approved of [private assassination] tactics.

He stated that our attack had been planned by ex-president Prío—and that it had been financed with Prío's money. It has been proved irrefutably that there existed no link whatsoever between our movement and the last regime.

He claimed that we had machine guns and handgrenades. Yet the military technicians have stated right here that we had only one machine gun and not a single hand-grenade.

He said that we had beheaded the sentries. Yet death certificates and medical reports of all the army's casualties show no deaths were caused by the blade.

But, above all—and most important—he said that we stabbed patients at the Military Hospital. Yet the doctors of that hospital—mind you, Army doctors—have testified we never even occupied *that* building, that no patient was either wounded *or* killed by us, and that the hospital lost only one employee—a janitor who imprudently put his head out an open window.

## XXI

Whenever a Chief of State—or anybody pretending to be one—makes declarations to the country, he speaks not just to hear the sound of his own voice. He always has some specific motive and expects some specific reaction. Since we had already been defeated militarily, inasmuch as we no longer represented any actual danger to the dictatorship, why did they slander us in such a fashion? If it is still not clear that his speech was just an attempt to justify the crimes that they had been committing since the night before—and which they were going to continue committing—then, let the numbers speak for me.

On the 27th of July, in his speech from the military headquarters, Batista said that the assailants suffered 33 dead. At the end of the week, the number of dead had risen to more than 80 men. In what battles, in what places, in what clashes, did these young men die? Before Batista spoke, more than 25 prisoners had been murdered. After Batista spoke, fifty more were murdered.

What a great sense of honor was shown by those soldiers and officers, who did not distort the facts before the court but gave their reports adhering to the strictest truth. These surely are soldiers who honor the uniform, and these, surely, are men! Neither a real soldier nor a true man can degrade his code of living with lies and crime.

I know that many of the soldiers are indignant at the barbaric assassinations committed. I know that they feel repugnance and shame at the smell of homicidal blood that impregnates every stone of Camp Moncada.

Now that he has been contradicted by men of honor among his own army, I defy the dictator to repeat his vile slander against us. I defy him to try to justify before the Cuban people, his speech of the 27th of July.

Let him not be quiet. Let him speak. Let him say who are the assassins, the ruthless, the inhumane. Let him tell us if the medals of honor, which he went to pin on the breasts of his heroes of the massacre, were reward for the hideous crimes they had committed. Let him, from this very moment, assume his responsibility before history. Let him not pretend, at a later date, that the soldiers were acting without orders from him! Let him offer the nation an explanation for these 70 murders. There was a lot of bloodshed. The nation needs an explanation. The nation demands it.

It was common knowledge that in 1933, at the end of the battle at the Hotel Nacional, some officers were murdered after surrendering; Bohemia Magazine protested energetically. It was known too that after the surrender of Fort Atarés, the besiegers' machine guns cut down a row of prisoners. And that one soldier, demanding "Who is Blas Hernández?\*" then blasted Blas Hernández\* with a bullet directly in the face—and for this cowardly act was promoted to officer's rank.

It was well known in Cuban history that assassination of prisoners was fatally linked with the name of Batista. Such naiveté on our part [not to foresee what would happen.] However — unjustifiable as those acts were in 1933 — they happened in a matter of minutes, in no more time than it took for a round of machine gun fire. Furthermore they happened while combat nerves were still on edge. It was not thus in Santiago de Cuba. Here all forms of vicious abuse were [deliberately] overdone.

Our men were killed not in the course of a minute, an hour or a day. Throughout a whole week the blows, the torture, and the shots continued, ceasing not for an instant — as methods of grisly amusement — wielded by well-practiced artisans of crime. Camp Moncada was converted into a workshop of torture and death. And some base individuals exchanged their uniforms for butchers aprons. The walls were splattered with blood. The bullets imbedded in the walls were encrusted with singed bits of skin, brains and human hair — the grisly reminders of rifle shots full in the face. The grass around the barracks was dark and sticky with human blood. The criminal hands that are guiding the destiny of Cuba had written for the prisoners at the entrance of that den of death the very inscription of Hell: "Abandon all hope."

## XXII

They did not even attempt to disguise appearances. They did not bother in the least to conceal what they were doing. They thought they had deceived the people with their lies and they ended deceiving themselves. They felt themselves lords and masters of the universe, with power over life and death. So the fear they had experienced upon our attack at daybreak was dissipated in an orgy of cadavers — in a true drunkenness by blood.

*Blas Hernandez.* Officer of the Atarés regiment who was shot in the act of surrendering.

Chronicles of our history, down through four and a half centuries, tell us of many acts of cruelty — the slaughter of defenseless Indians by the Spaniards; the plundering and atrocities of pirates along the coast; the barbarities of the Spanish soldiers during the War of Independence; the shooting of prisoners of the Cuban army by the forces of Weyler; the horrors of the Machado regime — and so on to the crimes of March 1935. But with none was there written a page so bloody, so sad — in the number of victims and in the viciousness of those who victimized — as in Santiago de Cuba eleven weeks ago.

Only one man in all these centuries has stained with blood two separate periods of our historic existence and has dug his claws into the flesh of two generations of Cubans. To release this river of blood, he waited for the Centenary\* of the *Apostol*, and the fiftieth anniversary of the Republic, [whose people gained] freedom, human rights, and happiness by the forfeit of so many lives. Even greater is his crime and even more to be condemned because the man who committed it had already, for eleven long years, lorded over this people—this people who, by such deep-rooted sentiment and tradition, adore freedom and repudiate evil. This man has furthermore never been sincere, loyal, honest or chivalrous for a single minute of his public life. He was not content with the treachery of December 1933,\* the crimes of March 1935 and the forty million dollar fortune that crowned his first regime; he had to add the treason of March 1952, the crimes of July 1953 and a hoard of millions that only time will tell.

Dante divided his hell into nine levels. He put in the seventh the criminals, in the eighth the thieves, and in the ninth the traitors. Difficult dilemma the devils would be faced with, endeavoring to find an adequate destination for the soul of this man—if this man had a soul. The man who encouraged the atrocious acts in Santiago de Cuba has not even human entrails. I heard many details from the lips of some soldiers, full of shame, who recounted to me the wicked scenes they had witnessed.

*Centenary.* By dramatic coincidence, 1953 was the 100th anniversary of Martí's birth and the fiftieth anniversary of Cuba's independence.

*December of 1933.* When Batista realized that Grau San Martín, whom he had placed in power in September, 1933, would be unable to procure recognition from the United States, he maneuvered a switch of military support and precipitated Grau's resignation in January, 1934.

### XXIII

As soon as the fighting was over, the soldiers descended like savage beasts over the city of Santiago. And they indulged their first fury against the defenseless population. In the middle of the street, far from the site where the fighting had taken place, they fired a bullet through the chest of an innocent child, as he was at play beside his doorstep. And when the father approached, to pick him up, they shot him through the forehead with another bullet. Without a word they shot "Nino" Cala, who was on his way home with a loaf of bread in his hands. It would be an endless task to relate all the crimes and outrages committed against the civil population.

When the Army dealt that way with those who had had no part in the action, you can imagine the terrible fate of the prisoners who *had* taken part in the action — or whom they believed to have taken part. Just as, in this trial, they *accused* many people not at all involved in our attack, they also *killed* many prisoners who had not been involved in the attack. The latter are not included in the statistics of victims the regime has given out; those statistics refer exclusively to our own men. Someday the total number of annihilated will be known.

### XXIV

The first prisoner killed was our medico. Dr. Mario Muñoz, who bore no arms, wore no uniform and was dressed in the white smock of Galen. He was a man generous and able, who would have given to the wounded adversary the same devoted care as to a friend. On the road from the City Hospital to the Camp, they shot him in the back and left him lying there, face downward in a pool of blood. But the mass murder of prisoners did not begin until after three o'clock in the afternoon. Until this hour they awaited orders.

Then General Martín Díaz Tamayo arrived from Havana and brought specific instructions from a meeting which he had attended with Batista, along with the head of the army, the head of the Military Intelligence Service, and others. He said: "It is humiliating and dishonorable for the army to have lost in combat three times as many men as the insurgents did. Ten prisoners must be killed for each dead soldier." This was the order.

In every society there are found men of base instincts. These sadists—brutes, conveyors of all the ancestral atavisms—go about in the guise of human beings, but they are monsters only more or less

restrained by discipline and social habit. If they are offered a drink from a river of blood, they will not be satisfied until they drink the river dry.

What these men needed precisely was this order. At their hands the best and noblest of Cuba perished; the most valiant, the most honest, the most idealistic. The tyrant called them mercenaries. There they were dying as heroes at the hands of men who collect a salary from the Republic, and who, with the arms which the Republic gave them to defend her, serve the interests of a mob and murder the best of her citizens.

### XXV

Throughout their torturing of our comrades the Army offered them a chance to save their lives by betraying their ideologic position and falsely declaring that Prío had given them money. When they indignantly rejected that proposition, the Army continued torturing them horribly. They shattered their testicles and they tore out their eyes. But no one yielded. And no complaint or begging was heard. Even when they had been deprived of their virile organs, our boys were still a thousand times more manly than all their tormentors together. Photographs—which do not lie—show the bodies to have been dismembered.

Other methods were employed. Frustrated by the valour of the men, they tried to break the spirit of the women. With a bleeding human eye in his hands, a sergeant and several other men went to the cell where our comrades Melba Hernández and Haydée-Santamaría were held. Addressing the latter and showing her the eye, they said: "This eye belonged to your brother. If you will not testify what he refused to testify we will tear out the other." She, who loved her valiant brother above all things, replied, full of dignity: "If you tore out an eye and he did not testify falsely, much less will I."

Later they came back and burned her arms with lit cigarettes until at last full of disrespect they told her: You no longer have a fiancé because we have killed him too. But, imperturbable, she answered: "He is not dead; to die for your country is to live on."\*

Never has there been placed on so high a pedestal the heroism and the dignity of Cuban womanhood.

\*—"to die for your country is to live on: phrase of Cuban national anthem.